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JOHN HOWARD, LL.D. F.R.S.

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A VIEW

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS,

AND

PHILANTHROPIC LABORS

OF THE LATE

JOHN HOWARD,

ESQUIRE, L. L. D. F. R. S.

By JOHN AIKIN, M. D.

In Commune auxilium natus, ac publicum bonum, ex quo dabit cuique partem: etiam ad calamitosos, pro portione, improbandos et emendandos, benitatem suam permittet. SENECA.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR JOHN ORMROD, BY W. W. WOODWARD,

At Franklin's Head, No. 41, Chesnut-street.

1794.

Sch. R.

INTRODUCTION.

IF it be a juſt obſervation, that every man who has attained uncommon eminence in his particular line of purſuit, becomes an object worthy of the public notice, how forcibly muſt ſuch a maxim apply to that ſpecies of excellence which renders a man the greateſt benefactor to his fellow-creatures, and the nobleſt ſubject of their contemplation? Beneficence, pure in its intentions, wiſe and comprehenſive in its plans, and active and ſucceſsful in execution, muſt ever ſtand at the head of thoſe qualities which elevate the human character; and mankind cannot have a concern ſo important, as the diffuſion of ſuch a ſpirit, by means of the moſt perfect and impreſſive examples, in which it has actually been diſplayed.

Among thoſe truly illuſtrious perſons who, in the ſeveral ages and nations of the world, have

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marked their track through life by a continued course of *doing good*, few have been so distinguished, either by the extent of the good produced, or the purity of motive and energy of character exhibited in the process of doing it, as the late Mr. HOWARD. To have adopted the cause of the prisoner, the sick, and the destitute, not only in his own country, but throughout all Europe; to have considerably alleviated the burden of present misery among those unfortunate classes, and at the same time to have provided for the reformation of the vicious, and the prevention of future crimes and calamities;—to have been instrumental in the actual establishment of many plans of humanity and utility, and to have laid the foundation for much more improvement hereafter;—and to have done all this as a private unaided individual, struggling with toils, dangers and difficulties, which might have appalled the most resolute; is surely a range of beneficence which scarcely ever before came within the compass of one man's exertions. Justly, then, does the name of *Howard* stand among those which confer the highest honor on the English character; and, since his actions cannot fail to transmit his memory with glory to posterity, it is incumbent on his countrymen and cotemporaries, for

their own ſakes, to tranſmit correſponding memorials of their veneration and gratitude.

It would, indeed, be a convincing proof of the increaſed good ſenſe and virtue of the age, if ſuch characters as this were found to riſe in the comparative ſcale of fame and applauſe. Long enough have mankind weakly paid their admiration as the reward of pernicious exertions,—of talents, often very moderate in themſelves, and only rendered conſpicuous by the blaze of miſchief they have kindled. It is now ſurely time that men ſhould know and diſtinguiſh their benefactors from their foes; and that the nobleſt incitements to action ſhould be given to thoſe actions only which are directed to the general welfare.

Since the lamented death of this excellent perſon, there have not been wanting reſpectable eulogies of his character, and ſuch biographical notices concerning him, as might in ſome meaſure gratify that public curioſity which is awakened by every celebrated name. There is yet wanting, however, what I conſider as by much the moſt valuable tribute to the memory of every man diſtinguiſhed by public ſervices; I mean a portraiture of him, modelled upon thoſe circumſtances which rendered him eminent; diſplaying

in their rise and progress those features of character which so peculiarly fitted him for the part he undertook, the origin and gradual developement of his great designs, and all the successive steps by which they were brought to their final state of maturity. It is this branch of biographical writing that alone entitles it to rank high among the compositions relative to human life and manners. Nature, indeed, has implanted in us a desire of becoming acquainted with those circumstances belonging to a distinguished character which are common to him and the mass of mankind; and it is therefore right that such a desire should in some degree be gratified: but to make *that* the principal object of attention, which, but for its association with somewhat more important, would not at all deserve notice, is surely to reverse the value of things, and to estimate the mass by the quantity of its alloy, rather than by that of the precious metal.

The deficiency which I have stated relative to Mr. *Howard*, it is my present object, as far as I am able, to supply; and however the task in some respect may be beyond my powers, yet the advantage I enjoyed of a long and confidential intercourse with him during the publication of his works, and of frequent conversation with

him concerning the paſt and future objects of his enquiries, together with the communications with which I have been favoured by ſome of his moſt intimate friends,—will, I hope, juſtify me in the eye of the public for taking it on myſelf. I truſt I have already appeared not inſenſible to his exalted merit, nor indifferent to his reputation.

One thing more I think it neceſſary to ſay concerning this attempt. It has been more than once ſuggeſted in print, but, I believe, without any foundation, that a life of Mr. *Howard* might be expected to appear under the ſanction and authority of his *family*. It is proper for me to avow, that this is not *that* work. The undertaking is perfectly ſpontaneous on my part, without encouragement from his relations or repreſentatives. Mr. *Howard* was a man with whom every one capable of feeling the excellence and dignity of his character, might claim kindred; and *they* were the neareſt to him whom he made the confidents and depoſitaries of his deſigns.

A VIEW

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, AND PHILANTHROPIC LABORS

OF THE LATE

John Howard, Esq. L.L.D.F.R.S.

JOHN HOWARD was born, according to the beſt information I am able to obtain, about the year 1727. His father was an upholſterer and carpet-warehouſe man in Long-lane, Smithfield, who, having acquired a handſome fortune retired from buſineſs, and had a houſe firſt at Enfield, and afterwards at Hackney. It was, I believe, at the former of theſe places that Mr. *Howard* was born.

As Mr. *Howard*'s father was a ſtrict Proteſtant diſſenter, it was natural for him to educate his ſon under a preceptor of the ſame princi-

ples. But his choice for this purpoſe was the ſource of a laſting misfortune, which, as it has been too frequent an occurrence, deſerves particular notice. There was at that time a ſchoolmaſter at ſome diſtance from London, who, in conſequence of his moral and religious character, had been intruſted with the education of the children of moſt of the opulent diſſenters in the metropolis, though extremely deficient in the qualifications requiſite for ſuch an office*. That perſons whoſe own education and habits of life have rendered them very inadequate judges of the talents neceſſary for an inſtructor of youth, ſhould eaſily fall into this error, is not to be wondered at: but the evil is a real one, though its cauſe be excuſeable: and, as ſmall communities with ſtrong party attachments are peculiarly liable to this miſplaced confidence, it is right that they ſhould in a particular manner be put on their

* I find it aſſerted in ſome memoirs of Mr. *Howard* in the *Univerſal Magazine*, that this perſon (whoſe name is there mentioned) was a man of conſiderable learning, and author of a tranſlation of the New Teſtament and of a Latin grammar. Without enquiring how far this may ſet aſide the charge of his being deficient as an inſtructor, I think it proper to ſay, that my only foundation for that charge is Mr. *Howard*'s own authority.

guard againſt it. They who know the diſſenters, will acknowledge, that none appear more ſenſible of the importance of a good education, or leſs ſparing in their endeavours to procure it for their children; nor, upon the whole, can it be ſaid that they are unſucceſsful in their attempts. Indeed, the very confined ſyſtem of inſtruction adopted in the public ſchools of this kingdom, renders it no difficult taſk to vie with them in the attainment of objects of real utility. But if it be made a leading purpoſe to train up youth in a certain ſet of opinions, and for this end it be thought eſſential that the maſter ſhould be excluſively choſen from among thoſe who are the moſt cloſely attached to them, it is obvious that a ſmall community muſt lie under great comparative diſadvantages.

The event with reſpect to Mr. *Howard*, was, (as he aſſured me, with greater indignation than I have heard him expreſs upon many ſubjects), that, after a continuance of ſeven years at this ſchool, he left it, not fully taught any one thing. The loſs of this period was irreparable; he felt it all his life after, and it was but too obvious to thoſe who converſed with him. From this ſchool he was removed to Mr. Eames' academy; but his continuance there muſt, I con-

ceive, have been of ſhort duration; and, whatever might be his acquiſitions in that place, he certainly did not ſupply the deficiencies of his earlier education. As ſome of the accounts publiſhed concerning him, might inculcate the idea that he had attained conſiderable proficiency in letters, I feel myſelf obliged, from my own knowledge, to aſſert, that he was never able to ſpeak or write his native language with grammatical correctneſs, and that his acquaintance with other languages (the French, perhaps, excepted) was ſlight and ſuperficial. In eſtimating the powers of his mind, it rather adds to the account, that he had this additional difficulty to combat in his purſuit of the great objects of his later years.

Mr. *Howard*'s father died when he was young, and bequeathed to him and a daughter, his only children, conſiderable fortunes. He directed in his will, that his ſon ſhould not come to the poſſeſſion of his property till his twenty-fifth year.

It was, probably, in conſequence of the father's direction that he was bound apprentice to a wholeſale grocer in the city. This will appear a ſingular ſtep in the education of a young man

of fortune ; but, at that period, inuring youth to habits of method and induſtry, and giving them a prudent regard to money, with a knowledge of the modes of employing it to advantage, were by many conſidered as the moſt important points in every condition of life. Mr. *Howard* was probably indebted to this part of his education for ſome of that ſpirit of order, and knowledge of common affairs, which he poſſeſſed ; but he did not in this ſituation contract any of that love of aggrandiſement which is the baſis of all commercial exertions ; and ſo irkſome was the employment to him, that, on coming of age, he bought out the remainder of his time, and immediately ſet out on his travels to France and Italy.

On his return he mixed with the world, and lived in the ſtyle of other young men of leiſure and fortune. He had acquired that taſte for the arts which the view of the moſt perfect examples of them is fitted to create ; and, notwithſtanding the defects of his education, he was not without an attachment to reading and the ſtudy of nature. The delicacy of his conſtitution, however, induced him to take lodgings in the country, where for ſome time his

health was the principal object of his attention. As he was supposed to be of a consumptive habit, he was put upon a rigorous regimen of diet, which laid the foundation of that extraordinary abstemiousness and indifference to the gratifications of the palate which ever after so much distinguished him. It is probable that, from his first appearance in a state of independence, his way of thinking and acting was marked by a certain singularity. Of this, one of the most remarkable consequences was his first marriage about his twenty-fifth year. As a return of gratitude to Mrs. *Sarah Lardeau* (or *Loidore*), widow, with whom he lodged at Stoke Newington, for her kind attention to him during his invalid state, he proposed marriage to her, though she was twice his age, and extremely sickly; and, notwithstanding her remonstrances on the impropriety of such an union, he persisted in his design, and it took place. She is represented as a sensible, worthy woman; and on her death, three years afterwards (during which interval he continued at Newington), Mr. *Howard* was sincerely affected with his loss; nor did he ever fail to mention her with respect, after his sentiments of things may have been supposed, from greater commerce with the world, to have undergone a change.

His liberality with reſpect to pecuniary concerns was early diſplayed; and at no time of his life does he ſeem to have conſidered money in any other light than as an inſtrument of procuring happineſs to himſelf and others. The little fortune that his wife poſſeſſed he gave to her ſiſter; and during his reſidence at Newington he beſtowed much in charity, and made a handſome donation to the diſſenting congregation there, for the purpoſe of providing a dwelling-houſe for the miniſter.

His attachment to religion was a principle imbibed from his earlieſt years, which continued ſteady and uniform through life. The body of Chriſtians to whom he particularly united himſelf were the Independents, and his ſyſtem of belief was that of the moderate Calviniſts. But though he ſeems early to have made up his mind as to the doctrines he thought beſt founded, and the mode of worſhip he moſt approved, yet religion abſtractedly conſidered, as the relation between man and his Maker, and the grand ſupport of morality, appears to have been the principal object of his regard. He was leſs ſolicitous about modes and opinions, than the internal ſpirit of piety and devotion; and in his eſtimate of different religious ſocieties, the

circumstances to which he principally attended, were their zeal and sincerity. As it is the nature of sects in general, to exhibit more earnestness in doctrine, and strictness in discipline, than the establishment from which they dissent, it is not to be wondered at that a person of Mr. *Howard*'s disposition should regard the various denominations of sectaries with predilection, and attach himself to their most distinguished members. In London he seems chiefly to have joined the Baptist congregation in Wild-street, long under the ministry of the much-respected Dr. Stennett. His connexions were, I believe, least with that class called the Rational Dissenters; yet he probably had not a more intimate friend in the world than Dr. Price, who always ranked among them. It was his constant practice to join in the service of the establishment when he had not the opportunity of attending a place of dissenting worship; and though he was warmly attached to the interests of the party he espoused, yet he had that true spirit of catholicism, which led him to honour virtue and religion wherever he found them, and to regard the *means* only as they were subservient to the *end*.

He was created a Fellow of the Royal Society on May 13, 1756. This honour was not,

I presume, conferred upon him in consequence of any extraordinary proficiency in science which he had manifested; but rather in conformity to the laudable practice of that society, of attaching gentlemen of fortune and leisure to the interests of knowledge, by incorporating them into their body. Mr. *Howard* was not unmindful of the obligation he lay under to contribute something to the common stock of information. Three short papers of his are published in the *Transactions*. These are,

In Vol. LIV. On the Degree of Cold observed at Cardington in the Winter of 1763; when Bird's Thermometer was as low as 10½.

In Vol. LVII. On the Heat of the Waters at Bath, containing a Table of the Heat of the Waters of the different Baths.

In Vol. LXI. On the Heat of the Ground on Mount Vesuvius.

This list may serve to give an idea of the kind and degree of his philosophical research. Meteorological observations were much to his taste; and even in his later tours, when he was occupied by very different objects, he never

travelled without some instruments for that purpose. I have heard him likewise mention some experiments on the effects of the union of the primary colours in different proportions, in which he employed himself with some assiduity.

After the death of his wife, in the year 1756, he set out upon another tour, intending to commence it with a visit to the ruins of Lisbon. The event of this design will be hereafter mentioned. He remained abroad a few months; and, on his return, began to alter the house on his estate at Cardington near Bedford, where he settled. In 1758 he made a very suitable alliance with Miss *Henrietta Leeds*, eldest daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq. of Croxton, Cambridgeshire, king's serjeant; and sister of the present Edward Leeds, Esq. a Master in Chancery, and of Joseph Leeds, Esq. of Croydon. With this lady, who possessed in an eminent degree all the mild and amiable virtues proper to her sex, he passed, as I have often heard him declare, the only years of true enjoyment which he had known in life. Soon after his marriage he purchased Watcombe, in the New Forest, Hampshire, and removed thi-

ther. Concerning his way of life in this pleasant retreat, I find nothing characteristic to relate, except the state of perfect security and harmony in which he managed to live in the midst of a people, against whom his predecessor thought it necessary to employ all the contrivances of engines and guns in order to preserve himself from their hostilities. He had, indeed, none of those propensities which so frequently embroil country gentlemen with their neighbours, both small and great. He was no sportsman, no executor of the game laws, and in no respect an encroacher on the rights and advantages of others. In possessing him, the poor could not fail soon to find that they had acquired a protector and benefactor; and I am unwilling to believe that in any part of the world these relations are not returned with gratitude and attachment. After continuing at Watcombe three or four years, he sold the place, and went back to Cardington, which thenceforth became his fixed residence.

Here he steadily pursued those plans, both with respect to the regulation of his personal and family concerns and to the promotion of the good of those around him, which principle and inclination led him to approve. Though without

the ambition of making a ſplendid appearance, he had a taſte for elegant neatneſs in his habitation and furniture. His ſobriety of manners and peculiarities of living did not fit him for much promiſcuous ſociety; yet no man received his ſelect friends with more true hoſpitality; and he always maintained an intercourſe with ſeveral of the firſt perſons in his county, who knew and reſpected his worth. Indeed, however uncomplying he might be with the freedoms and irregularities of polite life, he was by no means negligent of its received forms; and, though he might be denominated a man of ſcruples and ſingularities, no one would diſpute his claim to the title of a gentleman.

But the terms on which he held ſociety with perſons of his own condition, are of much leſs importance in the view I mean to take of his character, than the methods by which he rendered himſelf a bleſſing to the indigent and friendleſs in a ſmall circle, before he extended his benevolence to ſo wide a compaſs. It ſeems to have been the capital object of his ambition, that the poor in his village ſhould be the moſt orderly in their manners, the neateſt in their perſons and habitations, and poſſeſſed of the

greateſt ſhare of the comforts of life, that could be met with in any part of England. And as it was his diſpoſition to carry every thing he undertook to the greateſt pitch of perfection, ſo he ſpared no pains or expence to effect this purpoſe. He began by building a number of neat cottages on his eſtate, annexing to each a little land for a garden, and other conveniencies. In this project, which might be conſidered as an object of taſte as well as of benevolence, he had the full concurrence of his excellent partner. I remember his relating, that once, having ſettled his accounts at the cloſe of a year, and found a balance in his favor, he propoſed to his wife to make uſe of it in a journey to London, or any other gratification ſhe choſe. "What a pretty cottage it would build," was her anſwer; and the money was ſo employed. Theſe comfortable habitations he peopled with the moſt induſtrious and ſober tenants he could find; and over them he exerciſed the ſuperintendence of maſter and father combined. He was careful to furniſh them with employment, to aſſiſt them in ſickneſs and diſtreſs, and to educate their children. In order to preſerve their morals, he made it a condition that they ſhould regularly attend their ſeveral places of worſhip, and abſtain

from public houſes, and from ſuch amuſements as he thought pernicious; and he ſecured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will.

I ſhall here beg leave to digreſs a little, in order to make ſome general obſervations on the different methods that may be propoſed for bettering the condition of the loweſt and moſt numerous claſs among us. In the ſtate in which they too frequently appear, depreſſed to the extremeſt point of indigence, unable by their utmoſt exertions to obtain more than the bare neceſſaries of exiſtence, debaſed by the total want of inſtruction, and partaking of nothing that can dignify the human character, it is no wonder that a benevolent perſon of the higher ranks in ſociety ſhould conſider them as creatures of an inferior ſpecies, only to be benefited by the conſtant exerciſe of his authority and ſuperintendence. And I believe the fact to be, that, from the operation of our poor laws, and other circumſtances, the poor in this country are more thoughtleſs, improvident, and helpleſs, than thoſe of almoſt any other nation. Humanity will, therefore, in ſuch a ſtate of things, think it neceſſary to aſſume the entire

management of thoſe who can neither think nor act for their own good ; and will direct and over-rule all their concerns, juſt as it would thoſe of children and idiots. In ſhort, it will aim at ſuch a kind of influence, as the Jeſuits of Paraguay eſtabliſhed, (perhaps with the ſame benevolent views) over the ſimple natives.

But is this ſtate of pupilage to be perpetual? and, in a land of liberty and equal laws, is the great body of people always to exiſt in a condition of actual ſubjection to and dependence on the few? Are they never to be intruſted with their own happineſs, but always to look up for ſupport and direction to thoſe who in reality are leſs independent than themſelves? This is an idea which a liberal mind will be unwilling to admit ; and it will anxiouſly look forward to a period, in which meanneſs of condition ſhall not neceſſarily imply debaſement of nature ; but thoſe of EVERY rank in ſociety, feeling powers within themſelves to ſecure their eſſential comforts, ſhall rely upon their own exertions, and be guided by the dictates of their own reaſon. That this is not an imaginary ſtate of things the general condition of the

loweſt claſſes in ſome countries, and even in ſome parts of England where the working poor, at the ſame time that their earnings enable them to procure the comforts of life, are inured to habits of ſobriety and frugality, is a ſufficient proof.

There are few counties in England which afford leſs employment to a numerous poor than that of Bedford; of courſe, wages are low, and much diſtreſs would prevail, were it not for the humanity of the gentlemen who reſide upon their eſtates. Among theſe Mr. Howard diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a peculiar attention to the comfort and improvement of his dependents; and he was accordingly held by them in the higheſt reſpect and veneration. I may add, that he poſſeſſed their LOVE; which is not always the caſe with thoſe who render eſſential ſervices to the people of that claſs. But he treated them with kindneſs, as well as beneficence; and he particularly avoided every thing ſtern or imperious in his manner towards them. Whatever there might appear of ſtrictneſs in the diſcipline he enforced, it had only in view their beſt intereſts; and if under his protection they could paſs a tranquil old age in their own comfortable cottages, rather than

end their lives in a work-houſe, the ſubordination to which they ſubmitted was amply compenſated. It is certain that the melioration of manners and principles which he promoted, was the moſt effectual means of eventually rendering them more independent; and I have reaſon to know, that, latterly at leaſt, he was as well affected to the rights, as he was ſolicitous to augment the comforts of the poor.

His charities were not confined to thoſe more immediately connected with his property; they took in the whole circle of neighbourhood. His bounty was particularly directed to that fundamental point in improving the condition of the poor, giving them a ſober and uſeful education. From early life he attended to this object; and he eſtabliſhed ſchools for both ſexes, conducted upon the moſt judicious plan. The girls were taught reading, and needle-work in a plain way: the boys reading, and ſome of them writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic. They were regularly to attend public worſhip in the way their parents approved. The number brought up in theſe ſchools was fluctuating, but the inſtitutions were uninterrupted. In every other way in which a man thoroughly diſpoſed to do good with the means Providence has beſtowed upon him, can

exercise his liberality, Mr. Howard stood among the foremost. He was not only a subscriber to various public schemes of benevolence, but his private charities were largely diffused, and remarkably well directed. It was, indeed, only to his particular confidents and coadjutors that many of these were ever known; but they render him the most ample testimony in this respect. His very intimate and confidential friend, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Smith of Bedford, gives me the following account of this part of his conduct, at a time when he was deeply engaged in those public exertions which might be supposed to interfere with his private and local benefactions. "He still continued to devise liberal things for his poor neighbours and tenants; and, considering how much his heart and time were engaged in his great and comprehensive plans, it was surprising with what minuteness he would send home his directions about his private donations. His schools were continued to the last." It is impossible any stronger proof can be given, that the habit of doing good was wrought into his very nature, than that, while his public actions placed him without a rival for deeds of philanthropy, he should still be unable to satisfy his benevolent desires without

his accuſtomed benefits to his neighbours and dependents.

Another early feature of that character which Mr. Howard afterwards ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed, was a determined reſiſtance of injuſtice and oppreſſion. No one could be more firmly relied on as the protector of right and innocence againſt unfeeling and unprincipled power. His indignation was rouſed by any attempts to encroach or domineer; and his ſpirit led him, without heſitation, to expreſs, both in words and actions, his ſenſe of ſuch conduct. As no man could be more perfectly independent, both in mind and ſituation, than himſelf, he made that uſe of his advantage which every independent man ought to do;—he acted as principle directed him, regardleſs whom he might diſpleaſe by it; he ſtrongly marked his different ſenſations with reſpect to different characters; and he was not leſs ſtrenuous in oppoſing pernicious ſchemes, than in promoting beneficial ones.

The love of order and regularity likewiſe marked the early as well as the later periods of his life; it directed his own domeſtic concerns equally with his plans for the benefit of

others. His disposition of time was exact and methodical. He accurately knew the state of all his affairs; and the hand of economy regulated what the heart of generosity dispensed. His taste in dress, furniture, and every thing exterior, was turned to simplicity and neatness; and this conformity of disposition rendered him an admirer of the sect of Quakers, with many individuals of which he maintained an intimate connection.

In common with many other benevolent and virtuous characters, he had a fondness for gardening, and the cultivation of plants both useful and ornamental. Indeed, as his own diet was almost entirely of the vegetable kind, he had various inducements to attend to this pleasing occupation. That most valuable root, the potatoe, was a great favourite with him; and a remarkably productive species of it, which he recommended to public notice, was distinguished by his name. His garden was an object of curiosity, both for the elegant manner in which it was laid out, and for the excellence of its productions; and in his various travels he frequently brought home, and distributed among his friends, the seeds of curious kinds of cultivated vegetables.

In this manner Mr. Howard paſſed the tranquil years of his ſettled reſidence at Cardington; happy in himſelf, and the inſtrument of good to all around him. But this ſtate was not long to continue. His domeſtic felicity received a fatal wound from the death of his beloved wife, in the year 1765, ſoon after delivery of her only child. It is unneceſſary to ſay how a heart like his muſt have felt on ſuch an event. They who have been witneſſes of the ſenſibility with which, many years afterwards, he recollected it, and know how he honored and cheriſhed her memory, will conceive his ſenſations at that trying period. He was thenceforth attached to his home only by the duties annexed to it; of which the moſt intereſting was the education of his infant ſon. This was an office which almoſt immediately commenced; for according to his ideas, education had place from the very firſt dawn of the mental faculties. The very unfortunate iſſue of his cares, with reſpect to his ſon, has cauſed a charge to be brought againſt him very deeply affecting his paternal character. That this charge was in its main circumſtance falſe and calumnious, has, I truſt, been proved, to the ſatisfaction of the public, by appeals to facts which have remained uncontroverted. I ſhall

not, therefore, go over again the ground of this controverſy; but ſhall rather follow the proper line of this work, by briefly diſplaying Mr. Howard's ideas on education, and his manner of executing them.

Regarding children as creatures poſſeſſed of ſtrong paſſions and deſires, without reaſon and experience to controul them, he thought that nature ſeemed, as it were, to mark them out as the ſubjects of abſolute authority; and that the firſt and fundamental principle to be inculcated upon them, was implicit and unlimited obedience. This cannot be effected by any proceſs of reaſoning, before reaſon has its commencement; and therefore muſt be the reſult of coercion. Now, as no man ever more effectually combined the *leniter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*, the coercion he practiſed was calm and gentle, but at the ſame time ſteady and reſolute. I ſhall give an inſtance of it which I had from himſelf. His child one day, wanting ſomething which he was not to have, fell into a fit of crying, which the nurſe could not pacify. Mr. Howard took him from her, and laid him quietly in his lap, till, fatigued with crying, he became ſtill. This proceſs, a few times repeated, had ſuch an effect, that the

child, if crying ever ſo violently, was rendered quiet the inſtant his father took him. In a ſimilar manner, without harſh words and threats, ſtill leſs blows, he gained every other point which he thought neceſſary to gain, and brought the child to ſuch a habit of obedience, that I have heard him ſay, he believed his ſon would have put his finger into the fire if he had commanded him. Certain it is, that many fathers could not, if they approved it, execute a plan of this kind; but Mr. Howard in this caſe only purſued the general method which he took to effect any thing which a thorough conviction of its propriety induced him to undertake. It is abſurd, therefore, to repreſent him as wanting that milk of human kindneſs for his only ſon, with which he abounded for the reſt of his fellow-creatures; for he aimed at what he thought the good of both, by the very ſame means; and, if he carried the point further with reſpect to his ſon, it was only becauſe he was more intereſted in his welfare. But this courſe of diſcipline, whatever be thought of it, could not have been long practiſed, ſince the child was early ſent to ſchool, and the father lived very little at home afterwards. As to its effect on the youth's mind (if that, and not intention, be the circumſtance on which Mr.

Howard's vindication is to depend), I conſider it as a manifeſt impoſſibility, that controuling the child, ſhould have been the cauſe of the young man's inſanity. If any ſuch remote cauſe could be ſuppoſed capable of producing ſuch an effect, the oppoſite extreme of indulgence would have been a much more likely one. But I think it highly probable, that a father, whoſe preſence was aſſociated with the perception of reſtraint and refuſal, ſhould always have inſpired more awe than affection; and ſhould never have created that filial confidence, which is both the moſt pleaſing and moſt ſalutary of the ſentiments attending that relation. And this has been the great evil of that rigorous mode of education, once ſo general, and ſtill frequent, among perſons of a particular perſuaſion. I have authority to ſay, that Mr. Howard was at length ſenſible that he had in ſome meaſure miſtaken the mode of forming his ſon to that character he wiſhed him to acquire; though, with reſpect to his mental derangement, I know that he imputed no blame to himſelf on that head. With what parental ſorrow he was affected by that event will appear in the progreſs of the narration.

Having now given such a view of the temper and manners of this excellent person, in his private situation, as may serve to introduce him to the reader's acquaintance at the time of his assuming a public character, I shall, without further delay, proceed to trace him through those years of his life, the employment of which alone has rendered him an object of the curiosity and admiration of his countrymen.

In the year 1773, Mr. Howard was nominated High-Sheriff of the county of Bedford. An obstacle, however, lay in the way of his accepting that office, concerning which I shall take the liberty of making a few remarks.

When a principled Dissenter, whose condition in life permits him to aspire to the honor of serving his country in some post of magistracy, reflects on his situation, he finds that he must make his election of one of the three following determinations. He must either comply with a religious rite of another church, merely on account of its being made the condition of receiving the office; or take upon himself the office without such compliance, under all the hazard that attends it; or he must quietly sit down under that vacation from public charges which

the ſtate, in its wiſdom, has impoſed upon him, ſatisfied with promoting the welfare of individuals by modes not interdicted to him. It would be great preſumption in me to decide which of theſe determinations is moſt conformable to duty. In fact, there is only a choice of difficulties, and the deciſion between them muſt be left to every man's own feelings, which, if his intentions be good and honeſt, will ſcarcely lead him wrong. But it was perfectly ſuitable to Mr. Howard's character to make option of the office with the hazard: for as, on the one hand, no conſideration on earth could have induced him to violate his religious principles; ſo, on the other, his active diſpoſition, and zeal for the public good, ſtrongly impelled him to aſſume a ſtation, in which thoſe qualities might have free ſcope for exertion; and as to perſonal hazard, that was never an obſtacle in his way. There may be caſuiſts who will condemn this choice, and regard it as a ſerious offence againſt the laws of his country, to have taken upon him an office without complying with its preliminary conditions. But, I conceive, the ſincere philanthropiſt will rather make a different reflection, and feel a ſhock in thinking, that, had Mr. Howard been influenced by thoſe apprehenſions which would have

operated upon moſt men, he would have been excluded from that ſituation, which gave occaſion to all thoſe ſervices which he rendered to humanity in his own country, and throughout Europe*.

He entered upon his office with the reſolution of performing all its duties with that punctuality which marked his conduct in every thing he undertook. Of theſe, one of the moſt important, though leaſt agreeable, is the inſpection of the PRISONS within its juriſdiction. But this, to him, was not only an act of duty, it intereſted him as a material concern of humanity.

* *The penalties to which Mr. Howard, in this inſtance, expoſed himſelf, are declared in the following clauſe of the* Teſt Act, *which cannot too often be placed before the eyes of Britons.* " *Every perſon that ſhall* " *neglect or refuſe to take the ſacrament as aforeſaid,* " *and yet, after ſuch neglect or refuſal, ſhall execute* " *any of the ſaid offices or employments, and being* " *thereupon lawfully convicted,* ſhall be diſabled to " ſue, or uſe any action, bill, plaint or information, " in courſe of law, or to proſecute any ſuit in any " court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, " or executor or adminiſtrator of any perſon, or

The attention of Mr. Howard to perſons "ſick and in priſon," is by himſelf dated as far back as the year 1756, when he was induced by a ſingular, but what I ſhould call a ſublime, curioſity to viſit Liſbon, then lying in the recent ruins of its terrible earthquake. The packet

" capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear " any office ; and ſhall forfeit the ſum of five hun- " dred pounds, to be recovered by him or them " that ſhall ſue for the ſame."—*In the debate on the repeal of this act, the mover, with much eloquence, introduced the very caſe of Mr. Howard, and ſeemed conſiderably to impreſs his audience by the ſuppoſition of ſuch a man ſuffering its penalties, in conſequence of an information which any villain might lay againſt him. In reply it was ſaid, that, whatever were a man's intentions, if he voluntarily contravened a known law of his country, it ought not to be reckoned a hardſhip that he incurred the penalties by which it was ſanctioned. And this reaſoning is undoubtedly juſt, as it reſpects the intereſt of an individual put in competition with the ſecurity of a law. But ſurely it is a proper conſideration for the legiſlature, whether a law be grounded on thoſe principles of equity and general utility which can juſtify the impoſition of ſuch dreadful penalties for the breach of it, eſpecially when experience has ſhewn, that the moſt conſcientious and well-intentioned perſons are moſt liable to incur them.*

in which he ſailed being taken by a French privateer, he, with the reſt of the crew, was firſt expoſed to all the barbarities exerciſed by thoſe licenſed pirates, who poſſeſs the right of the ſword, not moliſied by the feelings of gentlemen; and, on his arrival in France, he for a time endured ſome of the hardſhips of a priſoner of war, and became acquainted with all the ſufferings of his countrymen in the ſame ſituation. Theſe, on his return to England, he took care to make known to the Commiſſioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen, who gave him their thanks for his information, and exerted themſelves to obtain redreſs. It was impoſſible that ſo feeling a leſſon of the calamities inflicted upon the unprotected claſſes of mankind, by fellow-creatures "dreſſed in a little brief authority," ſhould fail to make a durable impreſſion on ſuch a mind as Mr. Howard's.

It was not, however, till the period of his ſerving the office of ſheriff, that the diſtreſſes of thoſe confined in the civil priſons of his own country engaged his particular notice. In the introduction to his *State of the Priſons*, he has with the moſt unaſſuming ſimplicity, related the gradual progreſs of his enquiries; and in

what manner he was led, from an examination of the gaols in his own small county, to an investigation of all the circumstances belonging to this branch of police throughout the kingdom.

The first thing which struck him, was the enormous injustice of remanding to prison for the payment of FEES, those who had been acquitted or discharged without trial. As the magistrates of his county, though willing to redress this grievance, did not conceive themselves possessed of the power of granting a remedy, Mr. How ard travelled into some of the neighbouring counties in search of a precedent. In this search, scenes of calamity and injustice still opening upon him, he went on, and paid visits to most of the county gaols in England. Some peculiarly deplorable objects coming in his view, who had been brought from the Bridewells, he was induced to enter upon an examination of these places of confinement; for which purpose he travelled again into the counties he had before seen, and into all the rest, visiting Houses of Correction, City and Town Gaols.

He had carried on these inquiries with so much assiduity, that so early as March 1774,

he was desired to communicate his information to the House of Commons, and received their thanks. As he was then little known, I cannot much wonder that so extraordinary an instance of pure and active benevolence was not universally comprehended even by that patriotic body; for a member thought fit to ask him "at whose expence he travelled?" a question which Mr. Howard could scarcely answer without some indignant emotions. Soon after this public testimony given to the existence of great abuses and defects in our prisons, a very worthy member, Mr. Popham, brought into the House two bills, one "for the relief of acquitted prisoners in matter of fees"—the other "for preserving the health of prisoners."—These salutary acts passed during the same session, and made a commencement of those reforms which have since been so much extended. Mr. Howard, aware of the great deficiency of the mode of promulgating laws among us, had these acts printed in a different character, and sent to every keeper of a county-gaol in England.

In this year he was induced, by the urgent persuasions of his neighbours and friends of the town of Bedford, to stand candidate, in con-

junction with Mr. Whitbread, to represent that borough in parliament. No two persons could be better entitled to the esteem of a town; and they were very warmly supported in a contest, which however terminated in the return of two other gentlemen. Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Howard petitioned the House against the return; and the event was, that the former, and one of the sitting members, were declared duly elected. To those who are acquainted with the constitution of that borough, it will not appear extraordinary, that a person possessing the attachment of a majority of the inhabitant voters should lose his election. This, however, was a most fortunate circumstance for the public; since, if Mr. Howard had obtained a seat in the House of Commons, his plans for the reformation of prisons, must have been brought within a narrow compass; and the collateral inquiries, which, so greatly to the advantage of humanity, he afterwards adopted, could never have existed.

It was Mr. Howard's intention to have published his account of English Prisons in spring 1775; but as he was sensible, that to point out defects, without at the same time suggesting remedies, would be of little advantage, he

thought it beſt to examine with his own eyes, what had been actually put in practice with reſpect to this part of police, in ſome of the moſt enlightened countries on the continent. Accordingly, in that year he viſited France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany; and in 1776 repeated his viſit to thoſe countries, and alſo went to Switzerland. In the intervals he made a journey to Scotland and Ireland, and reviſited the county-gaols and many others in England.

Thus furniſhed with a ſtock of information greater than had ever before been collected on this ſubject; and, indeed, probably greater than any man had, in the ſame ſpace of time, ever collected on any ſubject that required ſimilar pains; he offered it to the public in 1777 in a quarto volume of near 500 pages, dedicated to the Houſe of Commons, by way of grateful acknowledgment for the honor conferred on him by their thanks, and for the attention they had beſtowed on the buſineſs. Before I proceed to give an account of this work, I ſhall juſt obſerve, that ſo zealous was Mr. Howard to diffuſe information, and ſo determined to obviate any idea that he meant to repay his expences by the profitable trade of Book-

making, that, beſides a profuſe munificence in preſenting copies to all the principal perſons in the kingdom, and all his particular friends, he inſiſted on fixing the price of the volume ſo low, that, had every copy been ſold, he would ſtill have preſented the public with all the plates, and great part of the printing. And this practice he followed in all his ſubſequent publications; ſo that, with literal propriety, he may be ſaid to have GIVEN them to the world. By the large expences of his journey, charities and publications, he has made himſelf even a greater pecuniary benefactor to mankind than can readily be paralleled in any age or country, his proportioned circumſtances conſidered. Yet how ſmall a part was this of the ſacrifices he made!

He choſe the preſs of Mr. Eyres at Warrington, induced by various elegant ſpecimens which had iſſued from it, and by the opportunity a country preſs afforded, of having the work done under his own inſpection, at his own time, and with all the minute accuracy of correction he determined to beſtow on it. I may alſo ſay, that an opinion of the advantage he might there enjoy of ſome literary aſſiſtance in the reviſion and improvement of

his papers, was a farther motive. To this choice I was indebted for that intimate perſonal acquaintance with him, which I ſhall ever eſteem one of the moſt honourable circumſtances of my life, and the lively recollection of which will, I truſt, never quit me while memo y remains. He reſided in Warrington during the whole time of printing, and his attention to buſineſs was moſt indefatigable. During a very ſevere winter he made it his practice to riſe at three or four in the morning, for the purpoſe of collating every word and figure of his daily proof ſheet with the original.

As I thought it right to mention Mr. Howards literary deficiencies, it is become neceſſary to inform the public of the manner in which his works were compoſed. On his return from his tours he took all his memorandum-books to an old retired friend of his, who aſſiſted him in methodizing them, and copied out the whole matter in correct language. They were then put into the hands of Dr. Price, from whom they underwent a reviſion, and received occaſionally conſiderable alterations. What Mr. Howard himſelf thought of the advantages they derived from

his assistance, will appear from the following passages in letters to Dr. Price. "I am "ashamed to think how much I have accumu- "lated your labors, yet I glory in that assist- "ance to which I owe so much credit in the "world, and, under Providence, success in "my endeavours." ——"It is from your "kind aid and assistance, my dear friend, "that I derive so much of my character and "influence. I exult in declaring it, and "shall carry a grateful sense of it to the last "hour of my existence."—With his papers thus corrected, Mr. Howard came to the press at Warrington; and first he read them all over carefully with me, which perusal was repeated, sheet by sheet, as they were printed. As new facts and observations were continually suggesting themselves to his mind, he put the matter of them upon paper as they occurred, and then requested me to clothe them in such expressions as I thought proper. On these occasions, such was his diffidence, that I found it difficult to make him acquiesce in his own language when, as frequently happened, it was unexceptionable. Of this additional matter, some was interwoven with the text, but the greater part was necessarily thrown into notes, which in some of his volumes, are numerous.

The title of this first work is, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales; with preliminary Observations, and an Account of some Foreign Prisons.* It begins with a general View of Distress in Prisons, shewing in what respects those of England are deficient in the articles of food, water, bedding, and fresh air; and that the morals of the prisoners are totally neglected, the most criminal and abandoned being suffered to corrupt the younger and less practiced. Notice is also taken of the gaol-fever, a disease which has in a peculiar manner infested the prisons of this country, and has at various times spread its ravages from them among our courts of judicature, our fleets, and armies. The author's next section is on Bad Customs in Prisons, under which he takes notice of the demand of garnish, the permission of gaming, the use of irons, the practice of varying the towns where the assizes are held, the local unfrequency of gaol-delivery, the fees still demanded by clerks of assize and of the peace, the non-residency of gaolers, the crowding of gaols with the wives and children of prisoners, and the circumstance of some gaols being private property. From this, and the foregoing section, every one must be convinced of the dreadful

ſtate of our police in this important matter, and the abſolute neceſſity for a reformation. For proof that the complaints here made in general terms are not unfounded or exaggerated, he properly refers to the ſubſequent account of particular gaols, where they are too abundantly verified. He concludes the ſecond ſection with an enumeration of all the priſoners in England and Wales, under their ſeveral claſſes, who, in 1776, amounted to 4084, a number much leſs than ſome vague conjectures had ſtated, yet ſufficiently great to demand the ſerious attention of the legiſlature, eſpecially when it is conſidered that every man in priſon may be reckoned to have two dependents on him for ſupport.

Mr. Howard's third ſection offers propoſed Improvements in the Structure and Management of Priſons. He begins with obſervations on the priſon itſelf, with reſpect to its ſituation and plan, the latter of which is illuſtrated by an engraving. He then proceeds to that moſt eſſential topic, the regulations. Theſe he conſiders under the ſeveral heads of gaoler, chaplain, ſurgeon, fees, cleanlineſs, food, bedding, rules and orders, and inſpector. He much inſiſts upon the ne-

ceſſity of abſolutely taking away the tap from the keepers of priſons, the poſſeſſion of which was obviouſly the cauſe of promoting intemperance and riot, from the intereſt it gave the keeper in ſuch irregularities. In lieu of this ſource of profit, he propoſes a liberal addition to the ſalaries of this officer, the importance and reſpectability of whoſe employ he every where inculcates. He makes a ſeparate article of Bridewells, the original penitentiary-houſes of the country, and planned with much wiſdom, but which, by long neglect and abuſe, were become rather a nuiſance than an advantage to the police. In many of them, though the perſons confined were ſentenced to hard labour, no work of any kind was done; and this ſtate of idleneſs, with the company of hardened criminals, proved to be a moſt effectual method of completing the corruption of young and petty offenders. Various excellent remarks and ſuggeſtions are given in the whole of this ſection, which contains the ground-work of all improvement in the economy of priſons and houſes of correction.

In ſect. IV. Mr. Howard gives an account of Foreign Priſons; not of all he had ſeen,

but of such only as afforded matter of instruction; nor in these does he notice the frauds and defects he observed, for he says, "the "redress and investigation of foreign abuses "was not my object." The countries of which the prisons are described are France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and Flanders. In the first, the suspicious policy which then prevailed would have rendered it very difficult for him to have obtained access to the interior part of the prisons, had he not availed himself of a benevolent rule, which permits any person to distribute alms to the prisoners with his own hands. A spirit of order and precision, tempered with humanity, was observable in the conduct of this department, the regulations of which were fixed by a very comprehensive and judicious code contained in an arret of 1717. In Switzerland, the separation of male and female prisoners, the solitary confinement of felons, and the employment of those called galley-slaves, are circumstances deserving notice. The German prisons are regulated in a similar manner; and the houses of correction at Manheim, Hamburgh, and Bremen, afford useful examples of order and industry. But it is in Holland that the purpose of reforming crimi-

mals by a courſe of diſcipline is carried into execution with moſt care and effect. Few debtors and few atrocious offenders are to be found there; and the raſp and ſpin-houſes contain the great body of priſoners. The regulations of theſe are given in detail, and the different employments of the priſoners in different towns are particularly noted. Holland appears to be Mr. Howard's great ſchool, to which we ſhall ſee that he was never wearied in returning. The Auſtrian Netherlands offer ſome of the largeſt eſtabliſhments of the penitentiary kind, and prove the poſſibility of managing a great number of criminals ſo as to make them uſeful to the ſtate, and decent in their behaviour, by the aid of ſteady diſcipline and ſeparate confinement at night. Mr. Howard ſaw, what I ſuppoſe was then deemed an impoſſibility in England, in the houſe of correction at Ghent, near 190 ſtout criminals governed with as much apparent eaſe as the moſt ſober and well-diſpoſed aſſembly in civil ſociety. The regulations of this priſon are deſervedly given at ſome length. Mr. Howard concludes this ſection with a forcible and manly appeal to his countrymen with reſpect to the compariſon he was obliged to exhibit between foreign and Engliſh police in this point, ſo unfavourable to

the latter; calling upon his reader to judge, from the facts laid before him, "whether a design of reforming our prisons be merely visionary; and whether idleness, debauchery, disease, and famine, be the necessary attendants of a prison, or only connected with it in our ideas, for want of a more perfect knowledge and more enlarged views."

Section V. takes up the greatest part of the book. It contains a particular account of English prisons, arranged according to the circuits, and comprising every county in England and Wales. The mode adopted is very well contrived for the easy consultation of magistrates and other persons concerned. Every principal prison in London, and every county and city gaol, has the leading facts respecting it disposed in a short table under the four heads of gaoler, prisoners, chaplain, and surgeon. A brief description follows of situation, plan, measurements, &c. with such remarks, either of approbation or censure, as the circumstances suggested. Lists are given of legacies and benefactions; and all tables of fees, and rules and orders, are copied *verbatim*. Next to these, are concise accounts of all the county Bridewells, and the town gaols and

Bridewells, with occasional remarks. The work is closed by some tables relative to fees and numbers, crimes and punishments of criminals. A short conclusion terminates the whole, in which the author apologizes for the language of censure he has so often been compelled to use, enumerates the leading objects requiring reform, and promises, that if such a thorough parliamentary enquiry into this great object, as alone can prove effectual to put it upon a proper footing, should be undertaken, he would devote his time to a more extensive foreign journey, for the sake of obtaining new information to lay before the public.

I cannot dismiss the account of Mr. Howard's first and great work, without a few reflections, to which the contemplation of it gives rise. And first, we may derive from it a clear idea of the capital objects which the author had at heart respecting prisoners These were, to alleviate their miseries, and correct their vices. As to the former purpose, he considered that men, partaking a common nature, have certain claims upon their fellow-creatures which nothing can entirely abrogate :—that even the highest degree of crimi-

nality does not absolutely exclude compassion towards the perpetrators of crimes, especially when suffering under their effects;—that as no man passes through life without some deviation from strict rectitude, so none has lived without the performance of some good actions —and that, although human laws must draw a line between such circumstances of conduct as do, or do not, come within their cognizance, yet there is a tribunal before which all mankind must appear as culprits, only distinguished by the degree of delinquency. He further considered, that among the inmates of a prison there is every possible degree of moral demerit, from the mere inconsiderate violation of some hard, ill-understood, local law, to the deliberate breach of the most sacred and universal rule of action; and that a great number are, in the eye of the law, innocent persons, only under a temporary state of confinement, till their conduct is properly investigated. From these different views of the subject, he convinced himself, that it was the duty of every society to pay due attention to the health, and, in some degree, even to the comforts, of all who are held in a state of confinement;—that wanton and unnecessary rigour should be practised upon none;—and that some

were entitled to all the indulgencies compatible with their condition. It was, however, by no means his wish (as some chose to represent it) to render a prison so comfortable an abode, that the lowest order of society might find their condition even bettered by admission into it. On the contrary, the system of discipline which he desired to establish, was such as would appear extremely grievous to those of an idle and licentious disposition. For, whenever imprisonment was made the punishment of a crime, his idea of reformation became a leading principle in the regulation of prisons; and it was that which cost him the chief labour in collecting and applying facts. To accomplish this end, he shewed that these things were essential;—strict and constant superintendence—close and regular employment—religious instruction—rewards for industry and good behaviour, and penalties for sloth and audaciousness—distribution into classes and divisions according to age, sex, delinquency, &c.—and occasional and nocturnal solitude. In laying down these regulations, he might be thought to have given way to a certain austerity, were it not so tempered by attention to the real demands of human nature, and sanctified by a regard to the best interests of of-

fenders themſelves, that the friend of mankind was ever apparent, even in the ſtrict diſciplinarian. He extremely lamented that the plan of reformation ſeemed, of all parts of his ſyſtem of improvement, leaſt entered into or underſtood in this country. The vulgar idea that our criminals are hardened and abandoned beyond all poſſibility of amendment, appeared to him equally irrational and pernicious. He ſcorned, through negligence or diſpair, to give up the worſt caſes of mental corruption; he fully believed that proper remedies, duly adminiſtered, would recover a large ſhare of them; and he thought it the greateſt of cruelties to conſign a ſoul to perdition, without having made every effort for retrieving it. Merely to get rid of convicts by execution or perpetual baniſhment, he regarded as a piece of barbarous policy, equally denoting want of feeling, and deficiency of reſource; and he had not ſo much Engliſh prejudice about him, as to ſuppoſe, that a ſyſtem not adopted in this country was therefore abſurd or impracticable.

My ſecond to of reflection is the ſtriking proof this work affords of the extenſive benefit ariſing from a free preſs. By its means we ſee

an individual, enjoying neither royal nor miniſterial patronage, but ſolely borne up by ardent zeal for the public good, and the reſources of his own mind and fortune, enabled not only to lay before the world complete information concerning a moſt important and little known ſubject, but, in ſome meaſure, alſo to enforce the correction of abuſes, by bringing before the bar of the public thoſe by whoſe negligence or criminality they had been foſtered. For as the hiſtory of mankind has ſhewn on the one hand, that palpable injuſtice and miſmanagement, even in an abſolute government, cannot long ſtand their ground againſt the odium of an enlightened public; ſo, on the other, it has proved, that even in free conſtitutions, notwithſtanding all their boaſted checks and balances, very groſs abuſes may long prevail, unleſs they are placed in open day, and ſubmitted to the cenſure of the nation at large. It is ſcarcely, I think, to be doubted, that the freedom we enjoy in this country, and the ultimate defeat of every pernicious project, are leſs owing to the mechaniſm of our conſtitution, than to the habitual practice (rather aſſumed by the ſpirit of the people than granted by the laws) of ſubjecting every public meaſure to popular diſcuſſion by means of the preſs.

From this ready communication of facts and opinions, it has happened, that many useful designs and improvements have among us originated from persons who had neither power nor interest of their own, but whose plans were adopted in consequence of the public conviction. The respect paid to Mr. Howard's virtues, abilities, and industry, placed him in a manner at the head of the department in which he had engaged as a volunteer; and this, not only in his own country, but afterwards, in some measure, throughout Europe. Though in exercising the office of a censor he was superior to the fear of giving offence, yet he ever observed the utmost delicacy in marking out individuals as objects of blame. He boldly and forcibly displayed the abuse, but left it to those more immediately concerned, to take notice of the delinquent. It cannot be questioned, that numbers looked with an evil eye upon his keen researches and free detections; but how could they venture, before the public, to confront a man whose assertions were correct, whose intentions were above all suspicion, and whose life would stand the severest test? May this example animate all future friends of mankind with a noble confidence becoming their cause?

The House of Commons now took up, with laudable zeal, the important business of regulating the prisons; and in the draught of a bill "to punish by imprisonment and hard labour certain offenders, and to establish proper places for their reception," the plan was formed upon the Rasp and Spin Houses in Holland. Mr. Howard was now called upon by his promise, as well as his inclination, to make a new tour for the purpose of acquiring fresh and more exact information. He, accordingly, in April 1778, went over to Holland, and revisited with the greatest attention the well-conducted establishments of the penitentiary kind in the United Provinces. Thence he travelled into Germany, taking his course through Hanover and Berlin, to Vienna. From this capital he proceeded to Italy by Venice; and, having gone as far south as Naples, returned by the western side of that country to Switzerland. Thence he pursued the course of the Rhine through Germany; and, crossing the Low Countries to France, returned to England in January 1779. During the spring and summer of this year he made another complete tour of England and Wales, and likewise took a journey through Scotland and Ireland.

The labours of these two years were certainly not less productive of useful information than his former journeys. In some respects they were more valuable, since, being now fully master of his subject, and acquainted with the means of procuring the best intelligence, he pursued his inquiries with greater ease and effect. He was now, too, a distinguished character in Europe, and might venture to assume that kind of authority, to which the collection of facts, interesting to all civilized nations, seemed to entitle him. It is here proper to mention, that although he often found it necessary, especially when treading new ground, to avail himself of recommendations to persons high in rank and office; yet that he much preferred, when he could practise it, carrying on his researches as an unknown individual, whose business was not suspected, and who took such times and opportunities of making his visits, as secured him against any thing like disguise or preparation. And it was his general custom, after he had once obtained access to a prison by the presence and interposition of authority, to stay some time in the place, or revisit it, for the purpose of renewing his enquiries single and unexpected. Thus careful was he to guard against deception; and with such coolness of

inveſtigation did he execute a deſign which it required ſo much ardour of mind to conceive.

I ſhall not, however, conceal, that ſome ſenſible and not uncandid obſervers of his conduct have thought him too apt to be prejudiced by firſt impreſſions, the effects of which it appeared extremely difficult to remove; and they have alſo charged him with ſometimes giving undue credit to perſons of inferior condition, at the places where he was making his inquiries; and likewiſe with being apparently better pleaſed with finding occaſion to cenſure than to commend. If, in a few inſtances, there may have been grounds for theſe imputations (as nothing human is without its defects), yet I think his works may, on the whole, be confidently referred to, as proving, by an immenſe maſs of allowed and uncontradicted facts, the accuracy of his repreſentations. It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that, as abuſes in general proceed from ſuperiors, it was not likely that a fair account of them ſhould be obtained from that quarter: and, as his great purpoſe was to correct, it is natural that his attention ſhould have been more drawn to what was wrong than what was right. A Hercules who went about in order to contend

with monſters, had little to do with the fair forms of civil life. Yet numerous inſtances of liberal praiſe may be found in his works, eſpecially where he could propoſe the object of it as an example proper for imitation.

The tours now before us were likewiſe rendered richer in utility by the comprehenſion of another great object, that of hoſpitals. To theſe inſtitutions of humanity Mr. Howard had long been attached; he had been a promoter of them, and attentive to their improvement; and in his journies through this kingdom, he had ſeldom failed to viſit the hoſpitals and infirmaries ſituated in our principal towns. He had alſo, in his firſt publication, taken curſory notice of a few which he ſaw abroad. But he now made them an avowed object of his examination; a circumſtance, it may be ſuppoſed, not a little pleaſing to his medical friends. For, although the knowledge collected by a profeſſional man with ſimilar opportunities would, doubtleſs, have been more applicable to the purpoſe of ſcience, yet matter of fact, accurately ſtated by a ſenſible obſerver, muſt ever have its value. Beſides, when can we expect to ſee the ſpirit and quali-

ties of a Howard, united in one of our profeſſion, with his fortune and leiſure?

The fruit of all this reſearch appeared in the year 1780, in an Appendix to the State of the Priſons in England and Wales; containing a further account of foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals, with additional remarks on the Priſons of this country. It is a quarto volume of about two hundred pages, with ſeveral plates. The work begins with the foreign priſons and hoſpitals, and Holland takes the lead, ſince a main object of the journey was a minute account of the excellent regulations of the houſes of correction in that country. Many of the rules, dietaries, &c. are copied; and on quitting the country, Mr. Howard gives his teſtimony to the large field of information on this ſubject that it affords, and ſays, that he knows not which moſt to admire, "the neatneſs and cleanlineſs appearing in the priſons, the induſtry and regular conduct of the priſoners, or the humanity and attention of the magiſtrates and governors." He takes little notice of the hoſpitals for the ſick in Holland, not approving their mode of keeping patients ſo warm, and excluding the freſh air. At Berlin the re-

gularity and ſtrictneſs of the police ſhews the ruling ſpirit of the great Frederic. A work-houſe here is conducted in the beſt Dutch mode. Vienna affords little to commend in its priſons; on the contrary, its horrid dungeons ſeem the abode of the extremeſt human miſery. Scarcely any thing in Mr. Howards deſcriptions is more touching than the following picture :— "In one of the dark dungeons, down twenty-four ſteps, I thought I had found a perſon with the gaol-fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguiſh and miſery appeared with tears clotted on his face. He was not capable of ſpeaking to me; but, on examining his breaſt and feet for Petechiæ, or ſpots, and finding a ſtrong intermitting pulſe, I was convinced that he was not ill of that diſorder. A priſoner in an oppoſite cell told me, that the poor creature had deſired him to call for aſſiſtance, and he had done it, but was not heard*." The charities of this

* *This ſcene is the ſubject of the frontiſpiece to Mr.* Haley's Ode to Mr. Howard; *and it is better drawn in the following ſtanza of that performance.*

Where in the dungeon's loathſome ſhade
The ſpeechleſs captive clanks his chain,
With heartleſs hope to raiſe that aid
His feeble cries have call'd in vain:

city, chiefly founded by the late Empreſs Queen, are much more pleaſing ſubjects of deſcription.

Mr. Howard entered Italy with high expectations of improvement from its numerous charitable inſtitutions and public edifices; nor does it appear that he was altogether diſappointed, as this country affords him a pretty long and intereſting article. The governments in which a ſpirit of improvement and attention to public objects, ſeem moſt to prevail, are thoſe of Milan and Tuſcany. The hoſpitals in Italy afford ſome novelties and uſeful hints; but there appears to be a great difference among them as to cleanlineſs and good management. Rome and Milan have well conducted houſes of correction, of which plans and deſcriptions are given. In a room of the former is inſcribed a ſentence, which ſo admirably expreſſed Mr. Howard's idea concerning the purpoſe of civil policy relative to criminals, that he would, I believe, almoſt have thought

Thine eye his dumb complaint explores;
Thy voice his parting breath reſtores;
Thy cares his ghaſtly viſage clear
From death's chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful ſoul returning life endear.

it worth while to have travelled thither for that alone. PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS POENA, NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA. *It is doing little to reſtrain the bad by puniſhment, unleſs you render them good by diſcipline.* The *galleys* belonging to various ſtates in Italy, and uſed for puniſhment, may be uſefully compared with our HULKS.

The weſtern ſide of Germany offers ſome good regulations in its houſes of correction; but in general, the police of this country is no object of imitation. The dungeons of Liege preſent pictures to the imagination, more dreadful, if poſſible, than thoſe of Vienna. "In deſcending deep below ground," ſays Mr. Howard, "I heard the moans of the miſerable wretches in the dark dungeons. The ſides and roof were all ſtone. In wet ſeaſons, water from the foſſes gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors."——"The dungeons in the new priſon are abodes of miſery ſtill more ſhocking; and confinement in them ſo overpowers human nature, as ſometimes irrecoverably to take away the ſenſes. I heard the cries of the diſtracted as I went down to them." Surely the Liegois cannot be blamed for endeavouring to place civil authority in dif-

ferent hands from thoſe who thus outraged the feelings of human nature!

The additional notices of France are diſtinguiſhed by an account of the Baſtille, extracted from a ſcarce pamphlet, which Mr. Howard procured, not without hazard, and a tranſlation of the whole of which he likewiſe printed. He had reaſon to believe, that this expoſure to all Europe of the horrid ſecrets of this "priſon-houſe," was a cauſe that his after viſits to that country were attended with no ſmall danger to his liberty; and it was once not improbable that Mr. Howard ſhould have been in the number of thoſe victims whom the demolition of that fortreſs of deſpotiſm reſtored to light and freedom. What a triumph muſt it have been to him, to have learned, that the frowning towers, which could not be approached or even gazed at, without offence, were levelled to the ground, as the firſt ſacrifice to the recovered rights of a generous nation! It is remarkable, that France was of all countries that in which he found intelligence concerning the priſons and other government eſtabliſhments, moſt difficult to be obtained; and this union of the ſuſpicious rigour of the police with the exterior gaiety and frivolity of the national character,

gave him no small disgust. It is to be presumed, that the change in their constitution will soften this contrast into a desirable harmony between the principles of the administration and the manners of the people.

Great Britain being then at war with France, Spain, and America, Mr. Howard could not be unmindful of that class of honourable prisoners to which he himself had once belonged. He very attentively visited the English prisoners of war confined in Calais and French Flanders, noting down their complaints and all the particulars of their treatment. He also, as I have been well informed, clothed at his own expence, several who had been shipwrecked on the French coast in the dreadful storm of December 31, 1778, and were left almost naked. He likewise exerted himself in dissuading the men from enlisting with the French, who were endeavouring to seduce them; by which he greatly offended the persons in office there, who could not imagine that he acted in all this as a private man, but were strongly persuaded that he was a secret agent or spy of the English government. This natural supposition may serve as some apology

for the ſuſpicion and illiberality with which he was conſtantly treated in that country.

On his return to England, with the true ſpirit of a citizen of the world, he paid immediate viſits to the French, Spaniſh, and American priſoners of war in this country; nor did he forget thoſe in Scotland and Ireland. The reſults of his obſervations, given with the moſt perfect impartiality, ſucceed the account of foreign priſons and hoſpitals; and it cannot be doubted that they had conſiderable effect in alleviating the unavoidable hardſhips of war.

Mr. Howard next gives a brief account of what he obſerved worthy of notice in his tours through Scotland and Ireland. The former country being governed by a different ſyſtem of municipal law from that of England, afford ſome uſeful remarks concerning impriſonment for debt, the form of adminiſtering an oath, and the mode of conducting executions. Ireland has not been at all behind-hand with the ſiſter kingdom in paſſing acts for the liberal improvement of its priſons; but there did not, at that time, appear an equal attention in magiſtrates to put them in execution. Some remarks here introduced, concerning the

practice of recruiting the army out of the gaols, will be thought important by those, who wish that the class of armed citizens should be respectable, in proportion to its consequence.

The next article relates to the Hulks on the Thames. These, at their first institution, had been extremely unhealthy, in consequence of faults which Mr. Howard pointed out in his former work. Their state was now much mended by means of parliamentary interference; yet, on the whole, it was not a mode of imprisonment and employment which met with his approbation. Some further remarks on the Gaol-fever succeed; which, in addition to the general causes of want of fresh air and cleanliness, he attributes to such a sudden change of diet and lodging as breaks the spirits of convicts. This corresponds with the medical doctrine of the effect of debilitating causes, in producing fevers of the typhus kind; yet it seems such a cause as cannot well be avoided.

The remainder of the book is occupied by a fresh survey of the prisons in England and Wales, in which such changes as had taken place since his former publication are noted,

with occaſional obſervations. The reader will remark with pleaſure, that in moſt parts of the kingdom, various uſeful alterations had been made ſince the period in which Mr. Howard began his enquiries; and the great ſhare he had in occaſioning them will be univerſally admitted.

His concluſion expreſſes ſatisfaction with the reſult of his labours; and mentions, that it had been his intention now to retire to the tranquil enjoyment of that competence Providence had beſtowed on him, but that the earneſt perſuaſions of thoſe who thought him a proper perſon to ſuperintend one of the great plans he had ſo much recommended, had induced him ſtill to devote his time to the public. Concerning this matter, it is proper to enter into an explanation. I ſhall only firſt mention, that, together with this Apendix, there was printed a new edition, in octavo, of the State of the Priſons, with which all this additional matter was interwoven.

An act for eſtabliſhing Penitentiary Houſes, on which much labour and thought had been beſtowed by men of great ability, paſſed in

1779. By this act, three ſupervifors were appointed for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the execution of the buildings. The whole kingdom would naturally turn its eyes on Mr. Howard, as the firſt perſon whoſe ſervices ſhould be engaged on this occaſion; but it was not an eaſy taſk to obtain his acquieſcence. Among other objections, his extreme delicacy, with reſpect to pecuniary emolument, ſtood in his way; and even the moderate ſalary annexed to this office, ſeemed to him ſcarcely compatible with the abſolute diſintereſtedneſs of conduct he had maintained, and was determined to preſerve, during the whole of his labours. At length, however, the ſolicitations of his friends, particularly of the late Sir W. Blackſtone, the great promoter of the deſign, together with a conſciouſneſs of the ſervice he might render the public in this ſtation, overcame his reluctance. Having reſolved to accept of no ſalary for himſelf, and having made the aſſociation of his highly-reſpected friend, Dr. Fothergill, a condition of his compliance, he, with the Doctor, and Mr. Whately, treaſurer of the Foundling-hoſpital, were nominated by his Majeſty as the three ſupervifors. The firſt matter for their determination was, fixing on

the ſpot where the two penitentiary houſes for the metropolis ſhould be erected. Various ſituations were propoſed, and Mr. Howard paid due attention to all the plans, by viſiting the ſpots, and maturely conſidering all circumſtances favourable and objectionable. The reſult was, that his opinion and that of Dr. Fothergill coincided in giving a preference to Iſlington, for reaſons which he has ſtated in his laſt publication. Mr. Whately preferred the ſituation of limehouſe. By the death-bed advice of Sir W. Blackſtone, the two friends adhered to their opinion; but the matter was made an affair of obſtinate contention, and remained undecided during the year 1780. At the end of it Dr. Fothergill died; upon which event, Mr. Howard, foreſeeing that the want of the ſupport of ſuch a colleague would render his future interference uſeleſs, ſent his reſignation of the office of ſuperviſor in January 1781, in a letter to Earl Bathurſt, which he has printed.

Now that Mr. Howard had freed himſelf from the engagement, which ſeemed to be the only obſtacle between him and that elegant retreat which for ſo many years he had inhabited, it might naturally be imagined that he would

ſit down in repoſe, for the remainder of his life, ſatisfied with the unparalleled and ſucceſsful exertions he had made for the relief of the moſt diſtreſſed portion of mankind; and thenceforth employ himſelf only in thoſe more confined deeds of beneficence which he had ever practiſed. But it was a leading feature in his character, not to be content with any thing ſhort of the greateſt perfection, which every object of his purſuit was capable of attaining—and this principle could ſcarcely fail of applying itſelf to a ſubject ſo important as that which had for ſome years occupied his attention.—Though his reſearches in thoſe foreign countries which promiſed moſt information, might have been ſuppoſed to have exhauſted that ſource of improvement, yet, on ſurveying ſo large a tract of Europe as yet unviſited, he could not be ſatisfied to remain unacquainted with the uſeful facts relative to his purpoſe, which might poſſibly lie there concealed. And he was convinced, that every new viſit, even to places already examined, would afford new inſtruction.

It was therefore no ſurpriſe to thoſe who intimately knew him, to learn, that in the ſummer of 1781 he was ſet out on a tour to

the capitals of Denmark, Sweden, Ruſſia, and Poland, with the further intention of reviſiting Holland and part of Germany. From this tour he returned towards the cloſe of the year. I have before me a letter of his to a friend (the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Bedford, dated Moſcow, September 7, 1781, whence it appears, that theſe parts of the world were leſs ſuitable to his mode of living than the countries through which his former travels lay. "I thought (ſays he) I could live where any man did live; but this northern journey, eſpecially in Sweden, has pinched me: no fruit, no garden-ſtuff, ſour bread, ſour milk:—but in this city I find every luxury, even pine-apples and potatoes." He mentions having declined every honour that was offered him at Peterſburgh, even that of a ſoldier to attend him on his journey; and ſays, that he will not leave Moſcow, till he has made repeated viſits to the priſons and hoſpitals, ſince the firſt man in the kingdom had aſſured him, that his publication would be tranſlated into Ruſſian.

The year 1782 he was employed in another complete ſurvey of the priſons in England, and another journey into Scotland and Ireland.—The Iriſh Houſe of Commons having appointed

a gaol-committee, he reported to it the ſtate of ſeveral of the priſons in Dublin. Other objects in that Iſland alſo engaged his attention, of which an account will be given hereafter.

Spain and Portugal yet remained untouched ground. Conſidering how much the ſpirit of religious bigotry and civil deſpotiſm has thrown theſe countries back in the progreſs of modern improvement, much inſtruction was not to be expected from them; yet the very circumſtance of their difference from the reſt of Europe made their ſyſtems of police an object of curioſity. He ſailed to Liſbon in February 1783, and proceeded thence by land into Spain, paſſing from Badajos to Madrid, and through Valladolid, Burgos, and Pamplona, to France. From this laſt country he returned through Flanders and Holland to England. Travelling in Spain is a ſevere trial of patience to thoſe who have been accuſtomed to eaſy conveyance and luxurious indulgencies; but Mr. Howard's wants were eaſily ſatisfied. "The Spaniards, (ſays he, in a letter to the ſame friend) are very ſober, and very honeſt; and if a traveller can liveſparingly, and lie on the floor, he may paſs tolerably well through their country." From Liſbon to Madrid he could ſeldom get

the luxury of milk with his tea; but one morning (he tells his friend) he robbed a kid of two cups of its mother's milk. He remained, however, in perfect health and spirits; and received that mark of attention which he most of all valued, a free access to the prisons of all the cities he visited, by means of letters to the magistrates from Count Campomanes.

After a short repose on his return from this tour, he made another journey in the summer of the same year into Scotland and Ireland, and again visited several of the English prisons.

His materials had now once more accumulated to such a mass, as to demand communication to the public. During the last three years his labours had been even greater than in any former equal period; yet it could not be expected, that the matter absolutely new which he had collected should be proportionally great. It was however, enough, to employ him very closely during several months of the year 1784, in printing an Appendix, and a new edition of the main work, in which all the editions were comprised. The Appendix contains all the matter of that of 1780, together with what

had ſince accrued. Of the latter I now proceed to give ſome account.

Several new houſes of correction are deſcribed under the head of Holland, the country which Mr. Howard ever found the moſt fertile ſource of inſtruction in this branch of police. The plan of the large new work-houſe of Amſterdam muſt be well worth ſtudying, as affording hints for the conſtruction of penitentiary houſes. Germany has the addition of the priſons of Hanover and Bremen, a minute account of the great and well regulated work-houſe at Hamburg, and ſhort notices concerning Sileſia. Of the northern kingdoms which he now firſt viſited, it may in general be obſerved, that their models, as well with reſpect to police, as to mode of living, have been Holland and Germany; but their poverty, and the rigour of their climate, have made them degenerate in their imitations. In particular, they are extremely deficient in cleanlineſs and induſtry. The new articles, therefore, of Denmark and Sweden, though valuable for the information they contain, yet afford little or nothing of inſtruction. The vaſt empire of Ruſſia, lately emerged from obſcurity to take a commanding ſtation in the

ſyſtem of Europe, and governed by uncontrolled power, at preſent directed by a ſpirit of magnificent improvement, could not but offer in its inſtitutions various things worthy of notice. Its police reſpecting criminals, its priſons, hoſpitals, and places of public education, are briefly mentioned by Mr. Howard; but he has found little to propoſe as an example for other countries. The regulations of the great convent at Peterſburgh, for the education of female children of the nobility and commoners, are given in detail, and afford ſome ſalutary rules for the preſervation of the health of young perſons, and for promoting habits of cleanlineſs and temperance. The plan and deſcription of a magazine for medicinal herbs at Moſcow, will be a pleaſing novelty to moſt readers. Mr. Howard had been anticipated in his ſurvey of the priſons and hoſpitals of the northern kingdoms, by that well-informed traveller, Mr. Coxe, who publiſhed a pamphlet on the ſubject in 1781, here referred to with commendation. The ſhort head of Poland contains little but a teſtimony to the neglected and wretched ſtate of public inſtitutions in that ill-governed country. All travellers have concurred in ſimilar repreſentations of the whole ſyſtem of affairs, internal and external,

in that unhappy ſeat of ariſtocratical tyranny ; ſo that it may be preſumed, their does not exiſt ſo determined an enemy of innovation as not to rejoice in the change of conſtitution which has lately been effected there, by means of the ſilent and peaceable progreſs of light and reaſon.

There are various additional articles under Flanders, one of which relates to a great alteration for the worſe in the houſe of correction at Ghent. A once flouriſhing manufactory carried on in the priſon was at an end ; and the allowance of victuals to the priſoners was reduced in quantity and quality. In the account of a very offenſive priſon at Lille, Mr. Howard expreſſes his grateful acknowledgments to Providence for his recovery from a fever caught there of the ſick.

The account of Portugal is almoſt confined to the priſons and hoſpitals of Liſbon ; the ſtate of which, upon the whole does credit to the government. The employment of about a thouſand vagrant and deſerted children in a manufactory, is one of the moſt obſervable circumſtances.

Spain, which has been long diſtinguiſhed for its charitable eſtabliſhments, affords likewiſe in its criminal police, many things deſerving of attention; though the ſpirit of rigour and ſeverity is perhaps too apparent, amidſt much laudable order and exactneſs. The houſe of correction at Madrid, called San Fernando, may vie with ſome of the beſt regulated inſtitutions of this nature; and the Hoſpicio, a kind of work-houſe, in which extenſive manufactories are carried on, is a good example of the union of employment with confinement.—The account of the charitable ſociety of the Hermandad del Refugio, who patrole the ſtreets in the evening, for the purpoſe of inviting deſtitute wanderers to a comfortable ſupper and night's lodging, will excite pleaſing ſenſations in the breaſt of every lover, of humanity. The priſons of the inquiſition, thoſe objects of horror and deteſtation to every Proteſtant, and now, probably, to moſt Catholics, excited great curioſity in Mr. Howard, of which however, all his efforts could only procure a partial gratification. Yet he has been able to communicate enough concerning thoſe of Valladolid to form a ſtriking picture of terror. On the whole, the predilection he had long entertained for the Spaniſh character, was

not diminiſhed by his viſit to the country; nor does he ſeem to have thought his pains in extending his inquiries to it, ill beſtowed. The additional notices in France, chiefly relate to the Paris hoſpitals. It is needleſs to dwell on theſe, ſince a very accurate deſcription of them has ſince been given in a capital work by M. Tenon.

To the account of foreign priſons and hoſpitals, ſucceeds a freſh ſurvey of the priſoners of war.

The new journies to Scotland, now extended as far as Inverneſs, afford little but cenſure for the neglect of the priſons in that country. Under Ireland are introduced additional remarks on the faults and abuſes ſtill obſervable in the priſons there. Notwithſtanding a very ſpirited exertion of the legiſlature to amend their ſtate, by framing good acts for their regulation. But, "quid leges ſine moribus, &c." The horrid effects of that cheap poiſon, whiſky, upon the health and morals of the lower claſſes in that country, are noticed by Mr. Howard with much indignant diſguſt. A new object of attention occurred to him in the two laſt viſits to Ireland,—the Proteſtant Charter

Schools, a noble foundation, but which he found ſunk into wretched abuſe, notwithſtanding the patronage and ſuperintendance of the firſt perſons in that kingdom. Erroneous accounts of them, publiſhed by a committee, and authorized by being annexed to a printed ſermon of a prelate in their favour, were detected by Mr. Howard on his viſits to ſome of them, and are expoſed with his uſual freedom.

Further accounts of the Hulks follow. To the remarks on the gaol-fever, Mr. Howard adds the information, that in 1782 he did not find one perſon in this kingdom affected with that diſeaſe; but that in 1783 he had the mortification to obſerve ſeveral priſons, thro' original bad conſtruction and neglect, relapſing to their former ſtate. So eſſential is a plan of conſtant vigilance and inſpection, to counteract the lamentable tendency to abuſe in all public inſtitutions! This principle of corruption and decay in every thing human is ſo inceſſantly active, that, if not reſiſted by the timely efforts of reformation, all the contrivances of wiſdom againſt natural and moral evils, would, like the dykes of Holland, perpetually ſapped and worn by the force of the elements, fall into irremediable ruin.

The remainder of this volume is taken up with a review of all the Engliſh priſons, together with particulars of all the alterations which they had undergone ſince the laſt publication. The reader will be gratified in finding, from the number of new priſons, and new buildings and conveniencies added to the old, that the counties in general had by no means been deficient in liberal attention to this great object, ſince it had been brought forward and aided by Mr. Howard's indefatigable exertions. At the concluſion, among the tables, is a ſketch of general heads of regulations for penitentiary-houſes, which will be highly uſeful in ſuggeſting a complete body of rules and orders for ſuch eſtabliſhments, if ever they ſhould again be thought of in this country.

The printing of this copious Appendix, together with a complete edition of his State of the Priſons, into which all the additions were incorporated, making a large and cloſely printed quarto volume, occupied much of Mr. Howard's time in the year 1784. The remainder of that, and the greater part of the next year, do not appear marked with his public ſervices. They were, I believe, chiefly employed in domeſtic concerns, of which

the choice of a proper place of education for his ſon, now riſing towards manhood, was one that moſt intereſted him. But the habitude of carrying on reſearches into an object, which by long poſſeſſion had acquired deep root in his mind, together with a new idea, collaterally allied to it, which had ſtruck him, at length impelled him once more to engage in the toils and perils of a foreign journey.

He had obſerved that, notwithſtanding the regulations for preſerving health in priſons and hoſpitals, infectious diſeaſes continued occaſionally to ariſe and ſpread in them: he had alſo in his travels remarked the great ſolicitude of ſeveral trading nations to preſerve themſelves from that moſt deſtructive of all contagious diſtempers, *the Plague;* and, at the ſame time, he was well apprized of the rude and neglected ſtate in which the police of our own country is left reſpecting that object. Combining theſe ideas, he thought that a viſit to all the principal Lazarettos, and to countries frequently attacked by the plague, might afford much information as to the means of preventing contagion in general, as well as particular inſtruction concerning eſtabliſhments for the purpoſe of guarding againſt peſtilential

infection. His intent, therefore, was nothing leſs, than to plunge into the midſt of thoſe dangers which by other men are ſo anxiouſly avoided; to ſearch out and confront the great foe of human life, for the ſake of recognizing his features, and diſcovering the moſt efficacious barriers againſt his aſſaults. Who but muſt be ſtruck with admiration of the firmneſs of courage, and the ardour of benevolence, which could prompt ſuch a deſign! As a proof of his own idea of the hazards he was to encounter, it may be mentioned, that he reſolved to travel ſingle and unattended; not thinking it juſtifiable to permit any of his ſervants to partake of a danger to which they were not called by motives ſimilar to his own.

It was towards the end of 1785 that Mr. Howard ſet out upon this tour, taking his way through Holland and Flanders, to the ſouth of France. As, from the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of the French government, he was not able to obtain permiſſion to viſit the eſtabliſhments there, or even to gain aſſurance of perſonal ſafety, he travelled through the country as an Engliſh phyſician, never took his meals in public, and entruſted his ſecret only to the proteſtant miniſters. In a letter

from Nice to the friend above-mentioned, dated January 30, 1786, he acquaints him with these circumstances, and says, that he was five days at Marseilles and four at Toulon; and, as it was thought that he could not get out of France by land, he embarked in a Genoese vessel, and was several days striving against wind and tide. They who at present conduct the government of France, I am persuaded, will blush at the idea, that a Howard was obliged to conceal his name and purpose while carrying on in their country inquiries which had no other aim than the good of mankind!

From Nice, Mr. Howard went to Genoa, Leghorn, and Naples, and to the islands of Malta and Zante. He then sailed to Smyrna, and thence to Constantinople. I have been favored with a letter of his to Dr. Price from this metropolis, dated June 22, 1786, some extracts from which I shall present to the reader.

"After viewing the effects of the earthquake in Sicily, I arrived at Malta, where I repeatedly visited the prisons, hospitals, poorhouses, and lazarettos, as I staid three weeks.

From thence I went to Zante : as they are all Greeks, I wiſhed to have ſome general idea of their hoſpitals and priſons, before I went into Turkey. From thence, in a foreign ſhip, I got a paſſage to Smyrna. Here I boldly viſited the hoſpitals and priſons ; but as ſome accidents happened, a few dying of the plague, ſeveral ſhrunk at me. I came thence about a fortnight ago. As I was in a miſerable Turk's boat, I was lucky in a paſſage of ſix days and a half. A family arrived juſt before me, had been between two and three months.

" I am ſorry to ſay ſome die of the plague about us ; one is juſt carried before my window ; yet I viſit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In ſome hoſpitals, as in the lazarettos, and yeſterday among the ſick ſlaves, I have a conſtant headach, but in about an hour after it always leaves me. Sir Robert Ainſlie is very kind ; but for the above and other reaſons, I could not lodge in his houſe. I am at a phyſician's, and I keep ſome of my viſits a ſecret."

He deſigned to proceed from Conſtantinople over land to Vienna ; but, having determined, upon reflection, to obtain by perſonal experi-

ence the fulleſt information of the mode of performing quarantine, he returned to Smyrna, where the plague then was, for the purpoſe of going to Venice with a foul biil, that would neceſſarily ſubject him to the utmoſt rigor of the proceſs. His voyage was tedious, and rendered hazardous by equinoctial ſtorms; and in the courſe of it he incurred a danger of another kind, the ſhip in which he was a paſſenger being attacked by a Tuniſian corſair, which, after a ſmart ſkirmiſh, was beaten off by the execution done by a cannon loaded with ſpike nails and bits of iron, and pointed by Mr. Howard himſelf. It afterwards appeared to have been the intention of the captain to blow up his veſſel, rather than ſubmit to be taken into perpetual ſlavery. It was not till the cloſe of 1786 that Mr. Howard left his diſagreeable quarters in the lazaretto of Venice, in which his health and ſpirits ſuffered conſiderably. Thence he went by Trieſte to Vienna. In this capital he had the honor of a private conference with the Emperor, which was conducted with the utmoſt eaſe and condeſcenſion on the part of Joſeph II. and equal freedom on the part of the Engliſhman. A relation of this inſtructive ſcene in his own words, will, I doubt not, be agreeable to the reader: "The

Emperor desired to see me, and I had the honor of a private audience with him of above an hour and an half. He took me by the hand three times in conversation, and thanked me for the visit. He afterwards told our Ambassador, 'That his countryman spoke well for prisoners; that he used no flowers, which others ever do, and mean nothing.' But his greatest favor to me was his immediate alterations for the relief of the prisoners*." That the late Emperor had an ardent zeal for improvement of every kind, and a strong desire of promoting the prosperity of his subjects, will scarcely be denied, even by those who are the severest censurers of the mode in which he conducted his plans, and his extreme mutability respecting them. He will also be honored, for the readiness with which he laid aside the etiquette of his rank, on every occasion where it obstructed him in the acquisition of knowledge, or the activity of exertion. Mr. Howard returned through Germany and Holland, and arrived safe in England early in 1787.

It was during this tour, and while he was insolitude occupying a cell of the Venice lazaret-

* *Letter to Mr. Smith.*

to, that he received from England two pieces of intelligence, both of which diſtreſſed and harraſſed his mind, though the emotion they excited muſt apparently have been very different. One of theſe related to the melancholy derangement of mind into which his ſon had fallen, and which, after various inſtances of ſtrange and unaccountable behaviour, terminated at length in decided inſanity. They who cannot believe that the moſt benevolent of mankind could be a ſtern and unnatural parent, will ſympathize in the anguiſh he muſt have felt on hearing (and in ſuch a ſituation too) of an event which blaſted the deareſt hopes of comfort and ſolace in his declining years. I, who have frequently heard him ſpeak of this ſon, with all the pride and affection of the kind father of an only child, cannot read without ſtrong emotions, the expreſſions he uſes in writing to his friend ralative to this bitter calamity. When he concludes a long letter upon various topics, with the exclamation, "But, O! my ſon, my ſon!" I ſeem to perceive the efforts of a manly mind, ſtriving by the aid of its internal reſources to diſpel a gloomy phantom, which was yet ever recurring to his imagination. But in this emergency, as in all

others, the consolations of religion were his chief refuge*.

The other cause of uneasiness by which his mind was agitated, will, to many, appear a very extraordinary one; since it arose from a testimony of esteem and veneration in his countrymen, which might be imagined to afford balm for his wounded spirit. During his absence, a scheme had been set on foot to honor him in a manner almost unprecedented in this age and country. Without attempting to trace it to its origin, it may suffice to say, that, in a periodical work of extensive circulation, the public were called upon to testify their respect for Mr. Howard by a subscription, for the pur-

* *To prove that Mr. Howard had kind and tender feelings for* domestic *as well as for* public *occasions, will I hope, by most persons be deemed a superfluous task. For those who require such proof, I copy the following passage from one of his letters to Mr. Smith.* "*My old servants, John Prole, Thomas Thomason, and Joseph Crockford, have had a sad time. I hear they have been faithful, wise, and prudent. Please to thank them particularly in my name for their conduct. Two of them, I am persuaded, have acted out of regard to his excellent mother,—who, I rejoice,* is dead."

poſe of erecting a ſtatue, or ſome other monument, to his honor. The authors of this ſcheme, though, doubtleſs, actuated by a pure and laudable admiration of illuſtrious virtue, yet muſt have been totally unacquainted with Mr. Howard's diſpoſition; otherwiſe they would never have thought of decorating a man, whoſe characteriſtic feature had always been a ſolicitude to ſhun all notice and diſtinction, with one of the moſt glaring and prominent marks of public applauſe, which might put to the bluſh modeſty of a much leſs delicate texture than his. The Engliſh national character (if national character can be ſaid to belong to ſo heterogeneous a people) is by nothing ſo ſtrongly marked, as by a coyneſs and reſerve which ſhrink from obſervation, and even to thoſe who are acting for the public, render the gaze of the public eye painful. The love of glory, which is ſo active a ſentiment to ſome of our neighbours, operates feebly upon us: many do not riſe to it, and ſome go beyond it. That "humble Allen," whoſe diſpoſition it was to "do good by ſtealth and bluſh to find it fame," was a genuine Engliſh philanthropiſt; and ſuch was Mr. Howard, rendered, perhaps, ſtill more averſe to public

praiſe, by a deep ſenſe of religious humility.

A ſimilar want of acquaintance with Mr. Howard's deſigns, cauſed the propoſers of this plan to attribute to him an extravagance of philanthropy, which could not but appear ridiculous to thoſe whoſe judgment was not dazzled by the ardor of admiration. It was aſſerted, among real topics of applauſe, that he was now gone abroad with the view of extirpating the plague from Turkey; an idea ſcarcely ſo rational, the character of that nation conſidered, as would be that of a miſſion to convert the Grand Seignior to Chriſtianity. Mr. Howard meant, undoubtedly, to do all the good which ſhould lie within his compaſs in that, as in all other countries which he viſited; but he never was ſo romantic as to ſuppoſe that he could effect that, which would manifeſtly require a total change in the religious and political ſyſtem of a great empire, of all the leaſt diſpoſed to change.

The project of a ſtatue, however, was eagerly adopted; the ſubſcription filled, and was adorned with the names of miniſters, nobles, and perſons of diſtinction: and a committee

was appointed to determine upon the beſt mode of fulfilling its purpoſe. The confidential friends of Mr. Howard were in a diſagreeable dilemma; for as, on the one hand, they could not but rejoice in the warmth of admiration which his country teſtified for his character; ſo, on the other, they well knew that its manner of diſplay could not fail to give him extreme pain, and if effected, probably baniſh him forever. On this account, they did not concur in the ſcheme, and ſome of them ventured publicly to throw out objections to it. Some of its warm promoters, in reply, talked of *forcing his modeſty*, and ſeemed determined at all events to put in execution their favorite deſign. In the mean while, Mr. Howard was informed of this honorable perſecution that was preparing againſt him at home; and the ſenſations this intelligence occaſioned in his breaſt are ſhewn in the following expreſſions contained in a letter to the intimate friend who has already furniſhed me with various extracts. "To haſten to the other very diſtreſſing affair: oh, why could not my friends, who know how much I deteſt ſuch parade, have ſtopped ſuch a haſty meaſure!—As a private man, with ſome peculiarities, I wiſhed to retire into obſcurity and ſilence.—Indeed, my friend, I can-

not bear the thought of being thus dragged out. I immediately wrote, and hope something may be done to ſtop it. My beſt friends muſt diſapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my ſchemes—my exaltation is my fall, my misfortune*." The ſame ſentiments on this buſineſs are expreſſed with equal ſtrength in his letters to Dr. Price. Among other things he ſays, "My trueſt, intimate, and beſt friends, have, I ſee by the papers, been ſo kind as not to ſubſcribe to what you ſo juſtly term a haſty meaſure. Indeed, indeed, if nothing now can be done, I ſpeak from my heart, never poor creature was more dragged out in public."

That in all this there was no affectation, clearly appeared from the letter he ſent to the ſubſcribers; in which, after expreſſing his gratitude, he diſplayed ſo determined a repugnance againſt admitting of the propoſed honor, deprecating it as the ſevereſt of puniſhments,

* *He mentions in the ſame letter, as a proof how oppoſite his wiſhes were to monumental honors, that before he ſet out on this journey, he had given directions, that in caſe of his death, his funeral expences ſhould not exceed ten pounds—that his tomb ſhould be a plain ſlip of marble placed under that of his dear Henrietta in Cardington church, with this inſcription:* John Howard, died—aged—My hope is in Chriſt.

that nothing could be urged in reply, and the buſineſs was dropped. Of the ſum ſubſcribed, amounting to upwards of 1500*l.* Mr. Howard refuſed to direct the diſpoſal in any manner, and begged it might no longer be termed the *Howardian fund*. A part of it was reclaimed by the ſubſcribers, but a conſiderable ſhare remained in a ſtock; and, ſince Mr. Howard's death, it has been reſolved to employ it in conferring thoſe honors on his memory which he would not accept while living. This intention is in every reſpect ſtrictly proper; and, as the noble edifice of St. Paul's is at length deſtined to receive national monuments, no commencement can be more auſpicious, than with a name which will ever ſtand ſo diſtinguiſhed among thoſe,

Qui ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

To reſume the narrative of Mr. Howard's public life:—After his return in 1787, he took a ſhort repoſe, and then went over to Ireland, and viſited moſt of the county gaols and charter ſchools, and came back by Scotland. In 1788 he renewed his viſit to Ireland, and completed his ſurvey of its gaols, hoſpitals, and ſchools. I ſhall lay before the reader part of a letter to Dr. Price, dated from Dublin, March

23, of this year. "My journey into this country was to make a report of the ſtate of the charter ſchools, which charity has been long neglected and abuſed; as indeed moſt public inſtitutions are made private emoluments, one ſheltering himſelf under the name of a biſhop, another under that of a lord; and for electioneering intereſt breaking down all barriers of honor and honeſty. However, Parliament now ſeems determined to know how its grants have been employed. I have, ſince my viſits to theſe ſchools in 1782, been endeavouring to excite the attention of Parliament; and ſome circumſtances being in my favor, a good Lord Lieutenant, a worthy Secretary (an old acquaintance,) and the firſt Secretary of State, the Provoſt, a ſteady friend, I muſt ſtill purſue; ſo I next week ſet out for Connaught and other remote parts of this kingdom, which indeed are more barbarous than Ruſſia. By my frequent journies my ſtrength is ſomewhat abated, but not my courage or zeal in the cauſe I am engaged in." During theſe two years, he likewiſe repeated his examination of all the county gaols, moſt of the Bridewells, and the infirmaries and hoſpitals of England, and of

the hulks on the Thames, at Portſmouth and Plymouth*.

The great variety of matter collected in theſe journies was methodized and put to the

* *It was, I believe, during his abſence in ſome of the tours of this period, that an incident happened which the reader, I hope, will think well worth relating. A very reſpectable-looking elderly gentleman on horſeback, with a ſervant, ſtopt at the inn neareſt Mr. Howard's houſe at Cardington, and entered into converſation with the landlord concerning him. He obſerved, that characters often appeared very well at a diſtance, which could not bear cloſe inſpection; he had therefore come to Mr. Howard's reſidence in order to ſatisfy himſelf concerning him. The gentleman then, accompanied by the innkeeper, went to the houſe, and looked through it, with the offices and gardens, which he found in perfect order. He next enquired into Mr. Howard's character as a landlord, which was juſtly repreſented; and ſeveral neat houſes which he had built for his tenants were ſhewn him. The gentleman returned to his inn, declaring himſelf now ſatisfied with the truth of all he had heard about Howard. This reſpectable ſtranger was no other than Lord Monboddo; and Mr. Howard was much flattered with the viſit, and praiſed his Lordſhip's good ſenſe in taking ſuch a method of coming at the truth, ſince he thought it worth his trouble.*

preſs in 1789. It compoſes a quarto volume, beautifully printed, and decorated with a number of fine plates, which, as uſual, are preſented to the public; and ſo eager were the purchaſers of books to partake of the donation, that all the copies were almoſt immediately bought up. The title is, *An account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, with various papers relative to the Plague; together with further obſervations on ſome foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals; with additional remarks on the preſent ſtate of thoſe in Great Britain and Ireland.* Of this work I ſhall proceed to give a brief analyſis.

The firſt ſection relates to Lazarettos, beginning with that of Marſeilles, in which city the horrid ravages of the plague, within the preſent century, have left ſtrong impreſſions of dread of that deſtroyer of mankind. Thoſe of Genoa, Leghorn, Malta, Zante, Venice, and Trieſte follow; the deſcriptions of which are illuſtrated by excellent views and plans*.

* *In one of his letters, Mr. Howard mentions having met with a young Frenchman going to the academy at Rome, who for a few ſequins thankfully worked under his eye, ſo that he can atteſt the accuracy of his draughts. Several of the plates were engraved in Holland.*

Of the lazarettos of Venice a very particular account is given, compriſing the mode of reception which he himſelf experienced, the regulations of every kind, reſpecting officers and their duty, viſitation of ſhips, manner of performing quarantine, and the expurgation of goods of all claſſes, &c. All theſe appear to have been deviſed with much judgment and prudence; but Mr. Howard is obliged to give teſtimony to various inſtances of abuſe and neglect, which greatly impair the utility of this inſtitution, as well as of many others in that once celebrated and potent republic.

Sect. II. contains propoſed regulations, and a new plan for a lazaretto; followed by obſervations on the importance of ſuch an eſtabliſhment in England. In theſe are introduced two letters on the ſubject to Mr. Howard; one, a long and argumentative one from the Engliſh merchants reſiding at Smyrna; the other, confirming their opinion, from thoſe of Salonica. Theſe commercial papers appear worthy of the moſt ſerious attention; and indeed it is wonderful that a nation which boaſts of good ſenſe and knowledge, ſhould ſo long have remained patient under a police reſpecting this matter, which anſwers no effectual pur-

pose of security, but seems only calculated to discourage commerce, and produce fees to persons in office, by the most barefaced impositions*.

Sect. III. consists of papers relative to the plague. They commence with a set of answers, by different medical practitioners, to queries with which Mr. Howard was furnished by the late Dr. Jebb and myself. I must observe, however, that all the queries do not appear, some of them having been misapprehended, or imperfectly answered, particularly such as related to the discrimination of other fevers of the typhus genus from the plague. These replies will probably be thought to add little to the stock of knowledge we possessed respecting this disease; yet it is of some importance, that the leading facts on which all modes of preservation must be founded, viz. that the plague is not known to arise spontaneously any where, but is always to be traced to contagi-

* *Such is the negligence and absurdity respecting the regulations of the quarantine of persons, that I have been assured, a naval officer has been called out of the Opera house, to go on board his ship and perform his quarantine.*

on; and that the diſtance to which its infection extends through the atmoſphere is very ſmall, are eſtabliſhed in them by general agreement. The "Abſtract of a curative and preſervative method to be obſerved in Peſtilential Contagions," communicated from the Office of Health in Venice to the court of Ruſſia; and the "Abridged Relation of the Plague of Spalato in Dalmatia, in 1784." both extracted from the Italian originals by myſelf, are the other papers in this ſection. In the latter, the medical reader will be ſtruck with the equivocal nature of the ſymptoms ſuppoſed to diſcriminate this diſeaſe, and the very gradual progreſs from ſuſpicion to certainty as to its preſence.

Sect. IV. relates to foreign Priſons and Hoſpitals. The employment of the gally-ſlaves in the arſenal of Toulon, is the moſt obſervable circumſtance relative to the ſouth of France. Under Italy there is a pleaſing account of the improvements at Florence, in conſequence of the humane attention of the Grand Duke Leopold, the preſent Emperor. This prince, beſides other inſtances of liberal favor to Mr. Howard's inquiries, cauſed a copy of his new code of laws to be preſented to him, of which, on his return, Mr. Howard had a tranſlation

printed, and distributed among the heads of the law and other persons, in and out of Parliament. Of the Grand Duke Mr. Howard never spoke without the warmest expressions of gratitude and respect, calling him a glorious prince, and declaring that nothing could exceed his attention to whatever might promote the happiness and prosperity of his people. It is earnestly to be wished, that the same regard to the principles of justice and humanity may accompany him in the very elevated station which is now assigned him by Providence.

Malta, that celebrated seat of piracy, dignified by the spirit of chivalry and devotion, affords a new and curious article. Its great hospital, which boasts of lodging the sick in a palace, and serving them in plate, is here described by one whose penetrating eye could distinguish between parade and comfort; and it undergoes some severe censure. Mr. Howard visited it before he delivered his letter of recommendation from Sir W. Hamilton to the Grand Master, as well as frequently afterwards.

The Turkish dominions, whence all light, liberty, and public spirit, are most effectually

excluded, could not be expected to yield inſtruction in police to Europe. Yet debtors and felons are there confined in ſeparate priſons, a refinement to which this country is not yet entirely arrived. The hoſpitals in the great commercial city of Smyrna ſeem all to belong to the Franks, Greeks, and Jews. Even at Conſtantinople the Turks have few hoſpitals, and thoſe in a wretched ſtate. The hoſpitals for lunatics there, are, indeed, examples of admirable conſtruction, but neglected in their management. Yet, amidſt this diſregard of the human ſpecies, Mr. Howard found an aſylum for cats. Such are the contradictions of man!

The inſtitutions of Vienna ſhew that ſingular mixture of clemency and rigour, of care and neglect, that might be expected from the indeciſive character of the ſovereign. The perpetual confinement of criminals in dark, damp dungeons, as a ſubſtitute for capital puniſhment, manifeſtly appears to be as little an advantage on the ſide of lenity, as it is on that of public utility. The much beaten ground of Holland ſtill affords new obſervations, particularly reſpecting the legal proceſs for debt, in uſe there.

Sect. V. relates to Scotland; and what is new chiefly regards the charitable institutions of Edinburgh. As to the prisons there, Mr. Howard was obliged to remark to the Lord Provost, "that the splendid improvements carrying on in their places of entertainment, streets, squares, bridges, &c. seemed to occupy all the attention of the gentlemen in office, to the total neglect of this essential branch of the police." This weighty animadversion deserves serious notice, as a strong confirmation of those charges against the spirit of luxury, which various modern philosophers have been fond of turning into ridicule. In fact, a spirit which increases personal wants and indulgencies, and augments the distance between the higher and lower orders of society, cannot but interfere with the duties, as well of charity, as of justice, which are owing to our fellow-creatures of every condition. The arts of luxury may promote knowledge, and this may secondarily be employed with advantage on objects of general utility; but it is not likely that the same persons whose minds are occupied with schemes of splendor and elegant amusement, should bestow attention on the coarse and disgusting offices annexed to the care of the poor and miserable.

The ſubject of Sect. VI. is the Iriſh Priſons and Hoſpitals. Mr. Howard obſerved a very liberal and humane ſpirit with reſpect to priſons, prevailing among the gentlemen of that country, diſplayed in the erection of many new gaols, the plans of which, however, he could not approve. The evils occaſioned by the uſe of ſpiritous liquors, particularly apparent in Ireland, draw from him much complaint and cenſure. It is a ſhocking conſideration that the intereſt of the revenue ſhould, in this matter, be ſuffered to prevail over the good of the nation; and nothing can deſerve ſeverer animadverſion, than the conduct of thoſe ſervants of the public, the commiſſioners of exciſe, who preſume to grant licences to tippling houſes in villages, contrary to the declared wiſh and opinion of gentlemen who reſide on the ſpot, and are witneſſes of their fatal conſequences to the health and morals of the neighbourhood. This is indeed, reverſing the order of civil government, and elevating ſubaltern intereſts to ruling principles. All the hoſpitals in Dublin are noticed by Mr. Howard, with remarks. He then proceeds to a ſurvey of all the county gaols and hoſpitals in the kingdom. The county hoſpitals are in fact national inſtitutions, maintained in great

part by the county rates and king's letter, and therefore are not so exactly superintended as those in England, which depend upon private subscription for their support. The consequence of this is shewn in the wretched state in which the greater part of them were found; the abodes of filth, hunger, neglect, and every species of abuse. Yet a spirit of improvement was beginning to operate among them, to which this free statement of their defects would, doubtless, much contribute.

Sect. VII. is devoted to an account of the Charter-schools in Ireland. The public detection of misrepresentations and abuses in this great national object had excited the attention of several of the leading men; and Mr. Howard had been desired to lay his obervations before the committee of fifteen in Dublin, who have the superintendance of them. He also made a report of their state before the Irish House of Commons; and, having entered heartily into the subject, he resolved to give it a thorough investigation. He therefore extended his visits to the whole of them, in number thirty-eight, and to the four provincial nurseries from which they are supplied. The result of his observations is here given, with free

cenſures of defects, and candid acknowledgments of improvement. He concludes the account with ſome general remarks on the inſtitution, and ſome hints for rendering it more uſeful; and, after expreſſing a wiſh, that the benefits of education were more generally extended over Ireland than they can be by thoſe ſchools, he diſplays the enlarged liberality of his mind in the following ſentence, which contains a maxim worthy of being written in letters of gold. "I hope I ſhall not be thought, as a Proteſtant diſſenter, indifferent to the Proteſtant cauſe, when I expreſs my wiſh, that theſe diſtinctions (between Catholic and Proteſtant) were leſs regarded in beſtowing the advantages of education; and that the increaſe of Proteſtantiſm were chiefly truſted to the diſſemination of knowledge and ſound morals."

This ſection is concluded, with an example ſtrikingly illuſtrative of the eaſe with which education may be extended to the whole body of poor, afforded by the truſtees of the blue-coat-hoſpital in Cheſter, whoſe report of their plan and its ſucceſs is here copied: and alſo, with the rules of the Quaker's-ſchool at Ackworth, excellently adapted to promote that decent and regular deportment in youth which

Mr. Howard ſo much admired. Ireland has reaſon to think herſelf peculiarly indebted to him for his laborious inveſtigations and free remarks on her public inſtitutions. No country certainly wanted them more; and none, I believe, is better diſpoſed to profit by them. She has not been ungrateful to her benefactor (that was never her character) for in no country is the memory of Mr. Howard more revered. During his journies there, ſeveral of the principal towns preſented him with their freedom; and the Univerſity of Dublin, with great liberality, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Mr. Howard's averſion to all kinds of diſtinction, and the natural diſlike of changing his uſual deſignation at an advanced age, prevented him from publicly aſſuming this reſpectable title.

Sect. VIII. relates to Engliſh Priſons and Hoſpitals. The priſons are all ſpecified in the order of the former works, with ſuch remarks as the alterations made in them, and other circumſtances, ſuggeſted. Many of the deſcriptions of hoſpitals are new, particularly an account of all the hoſpitals for the ſick in the metropolis. It is probable that few inſtitutions of the kind in Europe are better conducted than

these; yet there are defects, both general and particular, which Mr. Howard has briefly pointed out, and which claim the attention of those who are really interested in the utility of these noble charities, and do not consider them merely as subservient to private emolument. In a note under the county gaol in Southwark, he mentions in strong terms of pity and indignation the state of fifty felons, sentenced for transportation in the course of the preceding five years, and kept in the most wretched condition till an opportunity should offer of putting their sentence in execution. This necessary delay of punishment must ever be a strong objection to the scheme of distant banishment, and gives a decided preference, both in justice and policy, to the plan of penitentiary houses, so thoughtlessly abandoned for the Botany-bay settlement. The injustice, indeed, of the intermediate confinement, is lessened by an act of 24th Geo. III. which directs, that all the time during which a convict shall have continued in gaol under sentence of transportation, shall be deducted out of the term of his transportation. Still, however, such confinement is a different, and, in these circumstances, a much worse, punishment, than that to which they are sentenced.

The county Bridewell at Reading occaſions a note which deſerves particular attention. Mr. Howard has been ſuppoſed the peculiar patron of ſolitary confinement, and his recommendation has cauſed it to be adopted in various places, but to a degree beyond his intentions. He well knew, from manifold obſervation, that human nature could not endure, for a long time, confinement in perfect ſolitude, without ſinking under the burden. He had ſeen the moſt deſperate and refractory in foreign countries tamed by it; he therefore propoſed in our own priſons a temporary treatment of this kind, as the moſt effectual, yet lenient, mode of ſubduing the ferocity of our criminals: but he never thought of its being made the ſentence of offenders during the whole term of their impriſonment; ſuch being not only extreme and ſcarcely juſtifiable ſeverity, but inconſiſtent with the deſign of reclaiming them to habits of induſtry by hard labour. He, indeed, univerſally approved of nocturnal ſolitude, as affording an opportunity for ſerious reflection, and preventing thoſe plans of miſchief, and mutual encouragements to villainy, which are certain to take place among criminals, when left to herd together without inſpection.

The employment of convicts in building a new county gaol at Oxford, with their general good behaviour in it, affords an example of the possibility and probable good effect of occupying them in useful labour at home.

The fever wards of the Chester infirmary are very properly noticed, as a spirited instance of extending relief to persons suffering under a dangerous and infectious disease, and, by proper regulations, rendering the contagion harmless to others. I am persuaded, that the plague itself, thus managed, might be prevented from communicating itself even to those under the same roof with it. Mr. Howard was happy to find in this city a character congenial with his own in the ardour of active benevolence, and distinguished by various successful plans for the public good. To the medical reader, as well as to many others, it will be unnecessary to mention the name of Dr. Haygarth.

A particular account of all the hulks is given at the end of the English gaols. The condition of these floating Bridewells was improved in several respects since Mr. Howard's former visits; but, if considered in any other light

than as temporary places of confinement till ſome better plan is adopted, they are liable to many objections, which are here ſtated.

Remarks on Penitentiary Houſes follow. In theſe the writer ſtates his ideas concerning their nature and object, gives the reaſons which induced Dr. Fothergill and himſelf to fix on the ſituation of Iſlington, and relates his reſignation of the office of Superviſor, as formerly mentioned. The general heads of regulations propoſed for ſuch houſes in the laſt Appendix, are here reprinted; and a plate is added explanatory of the plan of building he approves. It is on every account to be lamented, that Mr. Howard ſhould not have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one of his favourite deſigns, the ſubject of his moſt laborious reſearch and matureſt reflection, carried into execution. The objection of expence was ſurely unworthy of a country like this, whoſe proſperity and reſources are ſo magnificently diſplayed, when the provinces of Holland, petty ſtates of Germany, and cantons of Switzerland, have not been afraid of incurring it. Whether the preferred ſcheme of colonizing with convicts at the Antipodes, has the advantage of it in this

reſpect, the public are now pretty well able to determine.

In the remarks on the gaol fever, repeated with a little variation from the laſt publication, we are informed, that ſince 1782, when the priſons of this kingdom were entirely free from this diſeaſe, ſeveral fatal and alarming inſtances of it had occurred. Its appearance and frequency will probably much depend upon the epidemic conſtitution of the year, as long as its occaſional cauſes continue to ſubſiſt; but that proper care and regulations in priſons might almoſt entirely extirpate theſe cauſes, there ſeems no reaſon to doubt.

The concluſion expreſſes the writer's ſatisfaction in that humane and liberal ſpirit which has ſo much alleviated the diſtreſs of priſoners; but laments, that here its exertions ſeem to ſtop, and that little or nothing is done towards that moſt important object, the reformation of offenders. From cloſe obſervation he is convinced, that the vice of drunkenneſs is the root of all the diſorders of our priſons, and that ſome effectual means to eradicate it are neceſſary, if we mean to preſerve the health and amend the morals of priſoners. Mr. Howard

therefore subjoins, as his final legacy towards the improvement of this branch of police, the draught of a bill for the better regulation of gaols, and the prevention of drunkenness and rioting in them. Of this, the leading clauses are framed for the purpose of absolutely prohibiting the entrance of any liquor into a gaol except milk, whey, buttermilk, and water, unless in case of sickness and medical prescription. He was fully sensible that, in this free living country, the denial of even small beer would be deemed a species of cruelty; and he doubted not that it would go far to lose him, in the popular estimation, the title of the *Prisoner's Friend:* but as attaining a popularity of that kind was not his original object, so he could bear to forfeit it, while conscious of still pursuing the real good of those unhappy people. Being convinced from experience, that there was no medium in this matter, and that if strong liquors were at all admitted into prisons, no bounds could be set to their use, he thought it right to deny an indulgence to a few, for the sake of the essential advantage of the many. Debtors, then, while the same place of confinement serve for them and felons, must be subjected to the same restraints. And, to take off the objection of the hardship this would im-

poſe upon innocent debtors, it was greatly his wiſh, that ſuch alterations ſhould take place in our law for debt, that none but fraudulent debtors ſhould be liable to impriſonment, who, he juſtly obſerves, are really criminals. He ſuppoſes that the gentlemen of the faculty will condemn the total rejection of fermented liquors from the diet of priſoners, under the notion of their being uſeful as antiſeptics; and I confeſs I was one who pleaded with him on this ſubject: but he anſwered me with arguments which he has here ſtated, and they are worthy of conſideration. After all, many will ſuppoſe, that in his feelings, both with reſpect to theſe privations, and to his propoſed indulgencies of tea, and other vegetable articles, he was in ſome meaſure under the influence of his own peculiar habits of life; ſo natural is it for our judgment of particulars to be warped, when our general principles remain fixed and unaltered. The draught of a bill will, I preſume, appear in moſt reſpects excellent; and the great purpoſe of preſerving ſobriety in gaols, cannot, ſurely, be too much inſiſted on.

Mr. Howard's leading ideas on this ſubject were formed ſome years before. In May 1787, the Lord Chancellor, in an excellent

ſpeech on a propoſed Inſolvent Bill, after diſcuſſing the point of impriſonment for debt, and the nature of ſuch bills, proceeded to ſome conſiderations reſpecting the management and diſcipline of our priſons. He ſaid, "he had lately had the honor of a converſation upon the ſubject, with a gentleman who was, of all others, the beſt qualified to treat of it—he meant, Mr. Howard, whoſe humanity, great as it was, was at leaſt equalled by his wiſdom; for a more judicious, or a more ſenſible reaſoner upon the topic, he never had converſed with. His own ideas had been turned to ſolitary impriſonment and a ſtrict regimen, as a puniſhment for debt; and that notion had exactly correſponded with Mr. Howard's, who had agreed with him, that the great object ought to be, when it became neceſſary to ſeclude a man from ſociety, and impriſon him for debt, to take care that he came out of priſon no worſe a man in point of health and morals than he went in." His Lordſhip afterwards recited a ſtory which Mr. Howard had told him, in proof of the corruption and licentiouſneſs of our priſons. A Quaker, he ſaid, called upon him to go with him and witneſs a ſcene which, if he were to go ſingly, would, he feared, be too much for his feelings: it was, to viſit a

friend in diſtreſs—a perſon who had lately gone into the King's-bench priſon. When they arrived, they found the man half-drunk, playing at fives. Though greatly ſhocked at the circumſtance, they aſked him to go with them to the coffee room, and take a glaſs of wine. He refuſed, ſaying he had drank ſo much punch, that he could not drink wine—however, he would call upon them before they went away. Mr. Howard and his friend returned, with feelings very different from thoſe with which they entered the place, but not leſs painful.

The volume concludes with ſeveral curious and valuable tables, which will probably be uſed for reference at future diſtant periods. The enumeration of all the priſoners in England at his viſits in 1787 and 1788, ſhews an alarming increaſe, though in ſome meaſure to be accounted for, from a long ſuſpenſion of the uſual tranſportation. They amount to ſeven thouſand four hundred and eighty-two.

Mr. Howard remained but a ſhort time at home after the printing of this work. In the concluſion of it he had declared his intention "again to quit his native country, for the pur-

poſe of reviſiting Ruſſia, Turkey, and ſome other countries, and extending his tour in the eaſt." The reaſon he has aſſigned for this determination, is, "a ſerious deliberate conviction that he was purſuing the path of his duty;" and it cannot be doubted, that this conſideration was now, as it ever had been, his leading principle of action. But if it be aſked, what was his more peculiar object in this new journey, no deciſive anſwer, I believe, can be given by thoſe who enjoyed the moſt of his confidence. I had various converſations with him on the ſubject; and I found rather a wiſh to have objects of enquiry pointed out to him by others, than any ſpecific views preſent to his own mind. As, indeed, his purpoſe was to explore regions entirely new to him, and of which the police reſpecting his former objects was very imperfectly known to Europe (for the Turkiſh dominions in Aſia, Egypt, and the Barbary coaſt, were in his plan of travels), he could not doubt that important ſubjects for obſervation would offer themſelves unſought. With reſpect to that part of his tour in which he was to go over ground he had already trodden, I conceive that he expected to do good in that cenſorial character, which his repeated publications, known and aſcended to all over

Europe, gave him a right to assume; and which he had before exercised to the great relief of the miserable in various countries. If to these motives be added the long formed habitude of pursuing a certain track of enquiry, and an inquietude of mind proceeding from domestic misfortune, no cause will be left to wonder at so speedy a renewal of his toils and dangers.

He had resolved to go this journey too, without an attendant; and it was not till after the most urgent and affectionate entreaties, that his servant obtained permission to accompany him. Before he set out, he and his very intimate and highly respected friend, Dr. Price, took a most affectionate and pathetic leave of each other. From the age and infirmities of the one, and the hazards the other was going to encounter, it was the foreboding of each of them that they should never meet again in this world; and their farewell corresponded with the solemnity of such an occasion. The reader's mind will pause upon the parting embrace of two such men; and revere the mixture of cordial affection, tender regret, philosophic firmness, and christian resignation, which their minds must have displayed.

It was in the beginning of July 1789 that he arrived in Holland. Thence he proceeded through the north of Germany, Pruſſia, Courland, and Livonia, to St. Peterſburgh. From this capital he went to Moſcow. Some extracts of a letter to Dr. Price dated from this city, September 22, 1789, will, I doubt not, be acceptable, as one of the lateſt records of his career of benevolence.

"When I left England, I firſt ſtopped at Amſterdam, and proceeded to Oſnaburgh, Hanover, Brunſwick, and Berlin; then to Konigſberg, Riga, and Peterſburgh; at all which places I viſited the priſons and hoſpitals, which were all flung open to me, and in ſome, the burgomaſters accompanied me into the dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement. I arrived a few days ago in this city, and have begun my rounds. The hoſpitals are in a ſad ſtate. Upwards of ſeventy thouſand ſailors and recruits died in them laſt year. I labour to convey the torch of philanthropy into theſe diſtant regions.——I am quite well—the weather clear—the mornings freſh—thermometer 48, but fires not yet begun. I wiſh for a mild winter, and then ſhall make ſome progreſs in my European expedition. My me-

dical acquaintance give me but little hope of escaping the plague in Turkey. I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers, to be an honor to my Christian profession."

From Moscow he took his course to the very extremity of European Russia, extended as it now is to the shores of the Black-sea, where long dreary tracts of desert are terminated by some of those new establishments, which have cost such immense profusion of blood and treasure to two vast empires, now become neighbors and perpetual foes. Here, at the distance of 1,500 miles from his native land, he fell a victim to disease, the ravages of which, among unpitied multitudes, he was exerting every effort to restrain. *Finis vitæ nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura!*

From the faithful and intelligent servant who accompanied him (Mr. Thomas Thomason), I have been favored with an account of various particulars relative to his last illness, which I shall give to the reader in the form in which I received it.

"The winter being far advanced on the taking of Bender, the commander of the Ruſſian army at that place gave permiſſion to many of the officers to viſit their friends at Cherſon, as the ſeverity of the ſeaſon would not admit of a continuance of hoſtilities againſt the Turks. Cherſon, in conſequence, became much crowded; and the inhabitants teſtified their joy for the ſucceſs of the Ruſſians by balls and maſquerades. Several of the officers, of the inhabitants of Cherſon, and of the gentry in the neighbourhood, who attended theſe balls, were almoſt immediately afterwards attacked with fevers; and it was Mr. Howard's idea, that the infection had been brought by the officers from Bender. Amongſt the number who caught this contagion was a young lady who reſided about ſixteen miles from Cherſon. When ſhe had been ill ſome little time, Mr. Howard was earneſtly requeſted to viſit her. He ſaw her firſt on Sunday, December 27. He viſited her again in the middle of the week, and a third time on the Sunday following, January 3. On that day he found her ſweating very profuſely; and, being unwilling to check this by uncovering her arm, he paſſed his under the bedclothes to feel her pulſe. While he was doing this, the effluvia from her body were very of-

fenſive to him, and it was always his own opinion that he then caught the fever. She died on the following day. Mr. Howard was much affected by her death, as he had flattered himſelf with hopes of her amendment. From January 3d to the 8th he ſcarcely went out*; but on that day he went to dine with Admiral Montgwinoff, who lived about a mile and a half from his lodgings. He ſtaid later than uſual; and when he returned, found himſelf unwell, and thought he had ſomething of the gout flying about him. He immediately took ſome Sal Volatile in a little tea, and thought himſelf better till three or four on Saturday morning, when feeling not ſo well, he repeated the Sal Volatile. He got up in the morning and walked out; but, finding himſelf worſe, ſoon returned and took an emetic. On the following night he had a violent attack of fever, when he had recourſe to his favorite remedy, James' powder, which he regularly took every two or four hours till Sunday the 17th. For though Prince Potemkin ſent his own phyſician to him, immediately on being acquainted

* *There ſeems ſome miſtake here, as there is a full report in his memorandums, of a viſit to the hoſpitals in Cherſon, dated January 6.*

with his illneſs, yet his own preſcriptions were never interfered with during this time. On the 12th he had a kind of fit, in which he ſuddenly fell down, his face became black, his breathing difficult, and he remained inſenſible for half an hour. On the 17th he had another ſimilar fit. On the 18th he was ſeized with hiccuping, which continued on the next day, when he took ſome muſk draughts by direction of the phyſician. About ſeven o'clock on Wedneſday morning, the 20th of January, he had another fit, and died in about an hour after. He was perfectly ſenſible during his illneſs, except in the fits, till within a very few hours of his death. This event he all along expected to take place; and he often ſaid, that he had no other wiſh for life than as it gave him the means of relieving his fellow-creatures.

During his illneſs he received a letter from a friend, who mentioned having lately ſeen his ſon at Leiceſter, and expreſſed his hopes that Mr. Howard would find him better on his return to England. When this account was read to him, it affected him much. His expreſſions of pleaſure were particularly ſtrong, and he often deſired his ſervant, if ever by the bleſſing

of God, his ſon was reſtored, to tell him how much he prayed for his happineſs. He made a will* on the Thurſday before he died; and was buried, at his own requeſt, at the villa of M. Dauphine, about eight miles from Cherſon, where a monument is erected over his grave. He made the obſervation, that he ſhould here be at the ſame diſtance from Heaven, as if brought back to England. While in Cherſon, he ſaw the accounts of the demolition of the Baſtille, which ſeemed to afford him a very particular pleaſure; and he thought it poſſible, the account he had himſelf publiſhed of it, might have contributed to this event."

On this relation, the general exactneſs of which may, I doubt not, be fully relied on, I ſhall only make a medical remark or two. Notwithſtanding Mr. Howard's conviction of having caught the contagion from the young lady, I think the diſtance of time between his laſt viſit to her and his own ſeizure, makes the fact dubious. Contagion thus ſenſibly received, uſually, I believe, operates in a leſs period than

* *This muſt probably have been only ſome directions to his executors, as his will is dated in* 1787.

five days*. Perhaps his visit to the hospitals on the 6th, or his late return from the Admiral's on the 8th, in a cold season and unwholesome climate, will better account for it. The nature of his complaint is not very clear, for it is very uncommon for the senses to remain entire till the last, in a fever of the low or putrid kind; nor are fits, resembling epileptic attacks, among the usual symptoms of such a disease. That a wandering gout might make part of his indisposition, is not very improbable, as it was a disorder to which he was constitutionally liable, though his mode of living prevented any severe paroxysms of it. At any rate, his disease was certainly attended with debility of the vital powers, and therefore the long and frequent use of James' powders must have been prejudicial. And I think it highly probable, that Mr. Howard's name may be added to the numerous list of those, whose lives have been sacrificed to the empirical use of a medicine of great activity, and therefore capable of doing much harm as well as good.

* *According to Dr. Lind, its effects, shivering and sickness, are instantaneous. See Dissert. on Fevers and Infection. Chap.* ii. *sect.* 1.

It was Mr. Howard's written requeſt, that his papers ſhould be corrected and fitted for publication by Dr. Price and myſelf. The declining ſtate of health of Dr. Price*, has

* *Whilſt I am engaged in this work, Dr. Price has followed his friend to the grave. A character ſo illuſtrious will, doubtleſs, have all juſtice done it by ſome pen qualified to diſplay its various merits. May I be permitted, however, to take this occaſion of mingling my regrets with thoſe of his other friends and admirers, and offering a ſmall tribute to the memory of one of the moſt excellent of men! Though during life the advanced ſtation he occupied in political controverſy rendered his name as obnoxious to ſome, as it was cheriſhed and revered by others, yet now he is gone to that place where all worldly differences are at an end, it may be hoped, that the liberal of all denominations will concur, in reſpecting a long courſe of years ſpent in the unremitted application of eminent abilities and acquirements, to the promotion of what he regarded as the greateſt good of his fellow-creatures. A character in which were combined ſimplicity of heart, with depth of underſtanding,—ardent love of truth, with true Chriſtian charity and humility;—high zeal for the public intereſts, with perfect freedom from all private views; cannot be ultimately injured by the petulence of wit, or the invectives of eloquence. Dr. Price's reputation as a moraliſt, philoſopher, and politician, may ſafely be committed to impartial poſterity.*

caused the business to devolve solely on me, and I have executed it to the best of my power. Little was requisite to be done to the greatest part, which he had himself copied out fair. The rest was with some difficulty to be compiled out of detached and broken memorandums; but in these his own words are as much as possible preserved. Of this Supplement I shall give a general account, as I have done of the former parts of his works.

The order and regularity of Holland still afford useful descriptions, and some of the abuses which even there had crept in, seem to have been corrected since Mr. Howard's visits. The friend to humanity has yet, however, to lament the continued use of the torture there, to force confession. The state of the prisons in Osnaburgh, Hanover, and Brunswick, is again dwelt upon with some minuteness, obviously because the writer thought there was some probability of his attracting, in a more peculiar manner, the notice of those who have the power of remedying their defects. Who will not sympathize with him in the disappointment he expresses in this instance, and bewail the strange fatality by which the utmost barbarity of the torture is retained in the dominions of a

mild and enlightened Sovereign, whose interpositions could not but be efficacious in suppressing it!

At Berlin and Spandau the institutions appear to preserve the good order in which they were left by the Great Frederic. Konigsberg seems to shew the neglect incident to places distant from the seat of government. In a note under this place, Mr. Howard makes an acknowledgment of the attention with which his remarks have been honored in various foreign countries, and properly adduces it as a reason for his adoption of that censorial manner of noting abuses, which, in his later journies, he has not scrupled freely to employ.

At St. Petersburgh he had the pleasure to observe several improvements in the hospitals, probably in great part owing to his own suggestions. Under Cronstadt he finds occasion, however, to animadvert upon an alteration in the plan of diet, generally adopted throughout the marine and military hospitals of Russia, which, in his opinion, is highly prejudicial. This alteration consists in changing milk, and various other articles, constituting the usual liquid and middle diet of the sick, for the strong-

er and leſs digeſtible food of men in health. The priſons at Moſcow ſeem greatly neglected by thoſe whoſe office it is to ſuperintend them; but the charity diſplayed by individuals towards the poor wretches confined in them, gave Mr. Howard a favorable idea of the humane diſpoſition of the nation, confirmed by what he ſaw of their manners in his travels.

He now haſtened to thoſe ſcenes, where a deſtructive war, co-operating with an unwholeſome climate, produced ſuch evils, aggravated by neglect and inhumanity, that they gave him no other occupation than to lament and complain. After all the allowances that candor demands, for inevitable wants and hardſhips in the diſtant poſts of a newly poſſeſſed country, and during the heighth of widely extended military operations, the Ruſſian commanders cannot be vindicated from an inattention to the lives and comforts of their ſoldiers, greater, as Mr. Howard obſerves, than he had ſeen in any other country. Ignorance, abuſe, miſmanagement, and deficiency, ſeem at their very ſummit in the military hoſpitals of Cherſon, Witowka, and St. Nicholas. The lively pictures he has drawn of the diſtreſſes he here witneſſed, and his pathetic deſcription of the ſufferings of

the poor recruits, marched from their diſtant homes to theſe melancholy regions, muſt awaken in every feeling breaſt a warm indignation againſt the ſchemes of ambitious deſpotiſm, however varniſhed over with the coloring of glory, or even of national utility. No leſſon ought to be more forcibly impreſſed on mankind, than, that uncontroled power in one or few, notwithſtanding it may occaſionally be exerciſed in ſplendid and even beneficent deſigns, is on the whole abſolutely inconſiſtent with the happineſs of a people*. The Empreſs of Ruſſia's unjuſt ſeizure of Leſſer and Crim Tartary, has been the cauſe of miſeries not to be calculated, to her own ſubjects and thoſe of Turkey, and has endangered the tranquility of all Europe.

I ſhall conclude this review of the works and public ſervices of Mr. Howard with brief annals of his more than Herculean labors, during the laſt ſeventeen years of his life.

* *Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjunx*
Nos, animæ viles, inhumata infletaque turba,
Sternamur campis. *Æn.* xi.

1773. High-ſheriff of Bedfordſhire. Viſited many county and town gaols.

1774. Completed his ſurvey of Engliſh gaols. Stood candidate to repreſent the town of Bedford.

1775. Travelled to Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, Flanders and Germany.

1776. Repeated his viſit to the above countries, and to Switzerland. During theſe two years reviſited all the Engliſh gaols.

1777. Printed his ſtate of priſons.

1778. Travelled through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and part of France.

1779. Reviſited all the counties of England and Wales, and travelled into Scotland and Ireland. Acted as Supervifor of the Penitentiary Houſes.

1780. Printed his firſt Apendix.

1781. Travelled into Denmark, Sweden, Ruſſia, Poland, Germany, and Holland.

1782. Again ſurveyed all the Engliſh priſons, and went into Scotland and Ireland.

1783. Viſited Portugal, Spain, France, Flanders and Holland: alſo, Scotland and Ireland; and viewed ſeveral Engliſh priſons.

1784. Printed the ſecond Appendix, and a new edition of his whole works.

1785. 1786. 1787. From the cloſe of the firſt of theſe years, to the beginning of the laſt, on his tour through Holland, France, Italy, Malta, Turkey and Germany. Afterwards went to Scotland and Ireland.

1788. Reviſited Ireland; and during this and the former year, travelled over all England.

1789. Printed his work on Lazarettos, &c. Travelled through Holland, Germany, Prussia, and Livonia, to Russia and Lesser Tartary.

1790. January 20. Died at Cherson.

Having thus traced the footsteps of this great philanthropist from the cradle to the grave, and followed them with close inspection in that part of his course which comprehends his more public life, it only remains, to assemble those features of character which have been displayed in his actions, and to form them in conjunction with such minuter strokes as studious observation may have enabled me to draw, into a faithful portraiture of the man.

The first thing that struck an observer on acquaintance with Mr. Howard, was a stamp of extraordinary vigour and energy on all his movements and expressions. An eye lively and penetrating, strong and prominant features, quick gait, and animated gestures, gave promise of ardor in forming, and vivacity in exe-

cuting his designs*. At no time of his life, I believe, was he without some object of warm pursuit; and in every thing he pursued, he was indefatigable in aiming at perfection. Give him a hint of any thing he had left short, or any new acquisition to be made, and while you might suppose he was deliberating about it, you were surprised with finding it was done. Not Cæsar himself could better exemplify the poet's

Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum.

I remember that, having accidently remarked to him that amongst the London prisons he

* *Mr. Howard had so much contempt for worldly honors that he would never sit to any painter whatever, and this has given rise to an opinion that there is no correct likeness of him. In this respect, however, the public seem to be under a mistake. An ingenious and respectable artist, Mr. T. Holloway, whose talents are justly admired, had often an opportunity of being in company with Mr. Howard in a public place, where a sketch of his features might be stolen. The temptation was too great to be resisted. An accurate sketch was made, and an engraving, executed from it, accompanies this life, and will afford a very just idea of the features of this great and good man.*

The American Editor can assure the public, that, the original sketch alluded to above, is now in the possession of Mr. Caleb Lownes of this city.

had omitted the Tower, he was so struck with the deficiency (though of trifling consequence, since confinement there is so rare), that at his very first leisure he ran to London, and supplied it. Nor was it only during a short period of ardour that his exertions were thus awakened. He had the still rarer quality of being able, for any length of time, to bend all the powers and faculties of his mind to one point, unseduced by every allurement which curiosity or any other affection might throw in his way, and unsusceptible of that satiety and disgust which are so apt to steal upon a protracted pursuit. Though by his early travels he had shewn himself not indifferent to those objects of taste and information which strike the cultivated mind in a foreign country, yet in the tours expressly made for the purpose of examining prisons and hospitals, he appears to have had eyes and ears for nothing else: at least he suffered no other object to detain him or draw him aside*. Impressed with the idea of the importance of his designs, and the uncertainty of human life, he was impatient to get as much done

* *He mentioned being once prevailed upon in Italy, to go and hear some extraordinary fine music; but, finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence.*

as poſſible within the allotted limits. And in this diſpoſition conſiſted that enthuſiaſm by which the public ſuppoſed him actuated; for otherwiſe, his cool and ſteady temper gave no idea of the character uſually diſtinguiſhed by that appellation. He followed his plans, indeed, with wonderful vigour and conſtancy, but by no means with that heat and eagerneſs, that inflamed and exalted imagination, which denote the enthuſiaſt. Hence, he was not liable to catch at partial repreſentations, to view facts through fallacious mediums, and to fall into thoſe miſtakes which are ſo frequent in the reſearches of the man of fancy and warm feeling. Some perſons, who only knew him by his extraordinary actions, were ready enough to beſtow upon him that ſneer of contempt, which men of cold hearts and ſelfiſh diſpoſitions are ſo apt to apply to whatever has the ſhew of high ſenſibility. While others, who had a ſlight acquaintance with him, and ſaw occaſional features of phlegm, and perhaps harſhneſs, were diſpoſed to queſtion his feeling altogether, and to attribute his exertions either merely to a ſenſe of duty, or to habit and humour. But both theſe were erroneous concluſions. He felt as a man ſhould feel; but not ſo as to miſlead him, either in the eſtimate

he formed of objects of utility, or in his reasonings concerning the means by which they were to be brought into effect. The reformation of abuses, and the relief of misery, were the two great purposes which he kept in view in all his undertakings; and I have equally seen the tear of sensibility start into his eyes on recalling some of the distressful scenes to which he had been witness, and the spirit of indignation flash from them on relating instances of baseness and oppression. Still, however, his constancy of mind and self-collection never deserted him. He was never agitated, never off his guard; and the unspeakable advantages of such a temper in the scenes in which he was engaged, need not be dwelt upon.

His whole course of action was such a trial of intrepidity and fortitude, that it may seem altogether superfluous to speak of his possession of these qualities. He had them, indeed, both from nature and principle. His nerves were firm; and his conviction of marching in the path of duty made him fearless of consequences. Nor was it only on great occasions that this strength of mind was shown. It raised him above false shame, and that awe which makes a coward of many a brave man in the

preſence of a ſuperior. No one ever leſs "feared the face of man," than he. No one heſitated leſs in ſpeaking bold truths, or avowing obnoxious opinions. His courage was equally paſſive and active. He was prepared to make every ſacrifice that a regard to ſtrict veracity, or rigorous duty, could enjoin; and it cannot be doubted, that, had he lived in an age when aſſerting his civil and religious rights would have ſubjected him to martyrdom, not a more willing martyr would ever have aſcended the ſcaffold, or embraced the ſtake.

The reſolute temper of Mr. Howard diſplayed itſelf in a certain peremptorineſs, which, when he had once determined, rendered him unyielding to perſuaſion or diſſauſion, and urged him on to the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, regardleſs of obſtacles. He expected prompt obedience in thoſe from whom he had a right to require it, and was not a man to be treated with negligence and inattention. He was, however, extremely conſiderate, and ſufficiently indulgent to human frailties; and a good-will to pleaſe him could ſcarcely fail of its effect. That his commands were reaſonable, and his expectations moderate, may be inferred from the long continuance of moſt of

his ſervants with him, and his ſteady attachment to many of thoſe whom he employed. His means of enforcing compliance were chiefly rewards; and the withholding them was his method of ſhowing diſpleaſure*.

* *The following characteriſtic anecdote was communicated to me by a gentleman who travelled in a chaiſe with him from Lancaſhire to London in* 1777. *Mr. Howard obſerved, that he had found few things more difficult to manage than poſt-chaiſe drivers, who would ſeldom comply with his wiſhes of going ſlow or faſt, till he adopted the following method. At the end of a ſtage, when the driver had been perverſe, he deſired the landlord to ſend for ſome poor induſtrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce ſuch perſon and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requeſts as to the manner of being driven, he ſhould not make him any preſent; but, to ſhow him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parſimony, he would give the poor perſon preſent double the ſum uſually given to a poſtillion. This he did, and diſmiſſed the parties. He had not long practiſed this mode, he ſaid, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known.*

A more extraordinary inſtance of his determined ſpirit has been related to me. Travelling once in the king

The spirit of independence by which he was ever distinguished, had in him the only foundation to be relied on, moderate desires. Perfectly contented with the competence which Providence had bestowed on him, he never had a thought of increasing it; and even when in a situation to expect a family, he made it a rule with himself to lay up no part of his annual income, but to expend in some useful or benevolent scheme the superfluity of the year.

of Prussia's dominions, he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all postillions entering at each end, to blow their horns by way of notice. His did so; but, after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's business, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. Howard's postillion to turn back; but Mr. Howard remonstrated, that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it; and therefore that he should insist on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority, to which, in that country, every thing must give way, made use of high words, but in vain. As neither was disposed to yield, they sat still a long time in their respective carriages: at length the courier gave up the point to the sturdy Englishman, who would on no account renounce his rights.

Leſt this ſhould be converted into a charge of careleſſneſs in providing for his own, it may be proper to mention, that he had the beſt-grounded expectations, that any children he might have, would largely partake of the wealth of their relations. Thus he preſerved his heart from that contamination, which (taking in the whole of life) is perhaps the diſeaſe moſt frequently attendant on a ſtate of proſperity,—the luſt of growing rich; a paſſion, which is too often found to ſwallow up liberality, public ſpirit, and, at laſt, that independency, which it is the beſt uſe of wealth to ſecure. By this temper of mind he was elevated to an immeaſurable diſtance above every thing mean and ſordid; and in all his tranſactions he diſplayed a ſpirit of honor and generoſity, that might become the "blood of the Howards" when flowing in its nobleſt channels.

Had Mr. Howard been leſs provided with the goods of fortune, his independency would have found a reſource in the fewneſs of his wants; and it was an ineſtimable advantage which he brought to his great work, an advantage perhaps more uncommon in this country than any of thoſe already mentioned, that he poſſeſſed a command over all corporeal ap-

petites and habitudes, not leſs perfect than that of any ancient philoſopher, or modern aſcetic. The ſtrict regimen of diet which he had adopted early in life from motives of health, he afterwards perſevered in through choice, and even extended its rigour, ſo as to reject all thoſe indulgencies which even the moſt temperate conſider as neceſſary for the preſervation of their ſtrength and vigor. Animal foods, and fermented and ſpirituous drinks, he utterly diſcarded from his diet. Water and the plaineſt vegetables ſufficed him. Milk, tea, butter, and fruit, were his luxuries; and he was equally ſparing in the quantity of food, and indifferent as to the ſtated times of taking it. Thus he found his wants ſupplied in almoſt every place where man exiſted, and was as well provided in the poſadas of Spain and caravanſeras of Turkey, as in the inns and hotels of England and France. Water was one of his principal neceſſaries, for he was a very Muſſelman in his ablutions; and if nicety or delicacy had place with him in any reſpect, it was in the perfect cleanlineſs of his whole perſon. He was equally tolerant of heat, cold, and all the viciſſitudes of climate; and, what is more wonderful, not even ſleep ſeemed neceſſary to him, at leaſt at thoſe returns and in

thoſe proportions in which mankind in general expect it. How well he was capable of enduring fatigue, the amazing journies he took by all modes of conveyance, without any intervals of what might be called repoſe (ſince his only baiting places were his proper ſcenes of action), abundantly teſtify. In ſhort no human body was probably ever more perfectly the ſervant of the mind by which it was actuated; and all the efforts of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution, not inured to habits of ſelf-denial, and moral as well as corporeal exerciſe, would have been unequal to his exertions*.

With reſpect to the character of his underſtanding, that, too, was as happily adapted to the great buſineſs in which he engaged.

* *The following account of his mode of travelling, communicated to me by a gentleman in Dublin, who had much free converſation with him, and the ſubſtance of which I well recollect to have heard from himſelf, will, I doubt not, prove intereſting.* " *When he travelled in England or Ireland, it was generally on horſeback, and he rode about forty Engliſh miles a day. He was never at a loſs for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he uſed to ſtop at one of the poor cabins that ſtick up a rag by way of ſign, and get a little milk.*

He had not, in a high degree, that extenſive comprehenſion, that faculty of generalizing, which is ſaid to diſtinguiſh the man of genius, but which, without a previous collection of authentic materials, is ever apt to lead into erroneous ſpeculations. He was rather a man of

When he came to the town he was to ſleep at, he beſpoke a ſupper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, but made his man attend him, and take it away, whilſt he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, poſtillions, &c. liberally, becauſe he would have no diſcontent or diſpute, nor ſuffer his ſpirits to be agitated for ſuch a matter; ſaying, that in a journey that might coſt three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about. When he travelled on the continent, he uſually went poſt in his own chaiſe, which was a German one that he bought for the purpoſe. He never ſtopped till he came to the town he meant to viſit, but travelled all night, if neceſſary; and from habit could ſleep very well in the chaiſe for ſeveral nights together. In the laſt tour but one he travelled twenty days and nights together without going to bed, and found no inconvenience from it. He uſed to carry with him a ſmall tea-kettle, ſome cups, a little pot of ſweetmeats, and a few loaves. At the poſt-houſe he could get his water boiled, ſend out for milk, and make his repaſt, while his man went to the auberge.'

detail; of laborious accuracy and minute examination; and therefore he had the proper qualities for one who was to lead the way in researches where all was ignorance, confusion, and local custom. Who but such a man could have collected a body of information, which has made even professional men acquainted with interesting facts that they never before knew; and has given the English reader a more exact knowledge of practices followed in Russia and Spain, than he before had of those in his own country? This minuteness of detail was what he ever regarded as his peculiar province. As he was of all men the most modest estimator of his own abilities, he was used to say, "I am the *plodder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make use of." Let those who look with fastidiousness upon long tables of rules and orders, and measurements of cells and work-rooms, given in feet and inches, consider, that when a scheme is brought into practice, these small circumstances must have their place; and that the most ingenious plans often fail in their execution for want of adjustment in the nicer parts. Perhaps even the great Frederic of Prussia was more indebted for success to the exactness of his dispositions in every minute particular connected with prac-

tice, than to deep and ſublime views of general principles.

From a ſimilar caſt of mind, Mr. Howard was a friend to ſubordination, and all the decorums of regular ſociety; nor did he diſlike vigorous exertions of civil authority, when directed to laudable purpoſes. He interfered little in diſputes relative to the theory of government; but was contented to take ſyſtems of ſovereignty as he found them eſtabliſhed in various parts of the world, ſatisfied with prompting ſuch an application of their powers as might promote the welfare of the reſpective communities. A ſtate of impriſonment being that in which the rights of men are, in great part, at leaſt, ſuſpended, it was natural that his thoughts ſhould be more converſant with a people as the ſubjects, than as the ſource, of authority. Yet he well knew, and properly valued, the ineſtimable bleſſings of political freedom, as oppoſed to deſpotiſm; and, among the nations of Europe, he conſidered the Dutch and Swiſs as affording the beſt examples of a ſtrict and ſteady police, conducted upon principles of equity and humanity. To the character of the Dutch he was, indeed, peculiarly partial; and frequently aſſerted, that he ſhould

prefer Holland for his place of reſidence, to any other foreign country. I can add, from undoubted authority, that Mr. Howard was one of thoſe who (in the language of the great Lord Chatham) "rejoiced that America had reſiſted," and triumphed in her final ſucceſs; and that he was principally attached to the popular part of our conſtitution; and that in his own county he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpirited oppoſition to ariſtocratical influence.

His peculiar habits of life, and the excluſive attention he beſtowed in his later years on a few objects, cauſed him to appear more averſe to ſociety than I think he really was; and it has been mentioned as an unfortunate circumſtance, that his ſhyneſs and reſerve frequently kept him out of the way of perſons from whom he might have derived much uſeful information. But it is vain to deſire things incompatible. Mr. Howard can ſcarcely be denied to have choſen the beſt way, upon the whole, of conducting his enquiries; and if he had been a a more *companionable* man, more ready to indulge his own curioſity, and gratify that of others, he would no longer have poſſeſſed one of the chief advantages he brought to his great work. Yet while he aſſiduouſly ſhunned all

engagements which would have involved him in the forms and diſſipation of ſociety, he was by no means diſinclined to enter into converſations on his particular topics; on the contrary, he was often extremely communicative, and would enliven a ſmall circle with the moſt entertaining relations of his travels and adventures.

Mr. Howard had in a high degree that reſpectful attention to the female ſex which ſo much characteriſes the gentleman. Perhaps, indeed, I may here be referring to rules of politeneſs which no longer exiſt. But he was as thoroughly impreſſed with the maxim of *place aux dames* as any Frenchman, though without the ſtrain of light and complimentary gallantry which has accompanied it in the individuals of that nation. His was a more ſerious ſentiment, connected with the uniform practice of giving up his own eaſe and accommodation, for the ſake of doing a real kindneſs to any female of decent character. It is excellently illuſtrated by an anecdote related in a magazine, by a perſon who chanced to ſail with him in the packet from Holyhead to Dublin, when the veſſel being much crowded, Mr. Howard reſigned his bed to a ſervant-maid,

and took up with the cabin floor for himself. It is likewise displayed throughout his works, by the warmth with which he always censures the practice of putting female prisoners in irons, and exposing them to any harsh and indelicate treatment. He was fond of nothing so much as the conversation of women of education and cultivated manners, and studied to attach them by little elegant presents, and other marks of attention. Indeed, his soft tone of voice and gentleness of demeanour might be thought to approach somewhat to the effeminate, and would surprise those who had known him only by the energy of his exertions. In his judgment of female character, it was manifest that the idea of his lost Harriet was the standard of excellence; and, if ever he had married again, a resemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recollect to this purpose a singular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common passage boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a most engaging manner and appearance, which very strongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was so much struck with her, that, on arriving at the place of de-

ſtination, he cauſed his ſervant to follow them, and get intelligence who they were. It was not without ſome diſappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady,—*his wife*.

Mr. Howard's predilection for female ſociety, was in part a conſequence of his abhorrence of every thing groſs and licentious. His own language and manners were invariably pure and delicate; and the freedoms which paſs uncenſured or even applauded in the promiſcuous companies of men, would have affected him with ſenſations of diſguſt. For a perſon poſſeſſed of ſuch feelings, to have brought himſelf to ſubmit to ſuch frequent communication with the moſt abandoned of mankind, was perhaps a greater triumph of duty over inclination than any other he obtained in the proſecution of his deſigns. Yet the nature of his errand to priſons probably inſpired awe and reſpect in the moſt diſſolute; and I think he has recorded, that he never met with a ſingle inſult from the priſoners in any of the gaols he viſited.

As Mr. Howard was ſo eminently a religious character, it may be expected that ſomewhat more ſhould be ſaid of the peculiar tenets he

adopted. But, beſides that this was a topic which did not enter into our converſations, I confeſs, I do not perceive how his general plan of conduct was likely to be influenced by any peculiarity of that kind. The principle of religious duty, which is nearly the ſame in all ſyſtems, and differs rather in ſtrength than in kind in different perſons, is ſurely ſufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind, by modes which Providence ſeemed to place before him. It has been ſuggeſted, that he was much under the influence of the doctrine of predeſtination; and I know not what of ſternneſs has been attributed to him as its natural conſequence. For my own part, I am not able to diſcover in what thoſe notions of Providence, general and particular, which make part of the profeſſion of all religions, differ eſſentially from the opinions of the predeſtinarians; and, from manifold obſervation, I am certain, that the reception of the doctrine of predeſtination, as an article of belief, does not neceſſarily imply thoſe practical conſequences which might ſeem deducible from it. The language, at leaſt, of our lower claſſes of people is almoſt univerſally founded upon it; but when one them dies of an infectious diſeaſe, notwith-

ſtanding the byſtanders all ſpeak of the event as fated and inevitable, yet each, for himſelf, does not the leſs avoid the infection, or the leſs recur to medical aid if attacked by it. With reſpect to Mr. Howard, he never ſeemed to adopt the idea that he was moved by an irreſiſtible impulſe to his deſigns; for they were the ſubject of much thought and diſcuſſion: nor did he confront dangers becauſe he had a perſuaſion that he ſhould be preſerved from their natural conſequences, but becauſe he was elevated above them. This ſentiment he has himſelf more than once expreſſed in print; and ſurely none could be either more rational, or more adequate to the effects produced. "Being in the way of my duty (ſays he), I fear no evil." I may venture to affirm, that thoſe of the medical profeſſion, whoſe fearleſſneſs is not merely the reſult of habit, muſt reaſon upon the ſame principle, when they calmly expoſe themſelves to ſimilar hazards. They, for the moſt part, uſe no precautions againſt contagion: Mr. Howard did uſe ſome; though their effects were probably trifling compared with that of his habitual temperance and cleanlineſs, and his untroubled ſerenity of mind. On the whole, his religious confidence does not appear to have been of a nature different from that of

other pious men; but to be so steadily and uniformly under its influence, and to be elevated by it to such a superiority to all worldly considerations, can be the lot of none but those who have formed early habits of referring every thing to the divine will, and of fixing all their views on futurity.

From Mr. Howard's connexions with those sects who have ever shewn a particular abhorrence of the frauds and superstitions of popery, it might be supposed, that he would look with a prejudiced eye on the professors and ministers of that persuasion. But such was his veneration for true vital religion, that he was as ready to pay it honour when he met with it in the habit of a monk, as under the garb of a teacher: and throughout his works, as well as in conversation, he ever dwelt with great complacency on the pure zeal for the good of mankind, and genuine Christian charity, which he frequently discovered among the Roman Catholic clergy, both regular and secular. He was no friend to that hasty dissolution of convents and monastaries which formed part of the multifarious reforms of the late Emperor of Germany. He pitied the aged inmates, male and female, of these quiet

abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats into the wide world, with a very ſlender and often ill-paid pittance for their ſupport. " Why might not they (he would ſay) be ſuffered gradually to die away, and be tranſplanted from one religious houſe to another as their numbers leſſened ?" Thoſe orders which make it the great duty of their profeſſion to attend with the kindeſt aſſiduity upon the ſick and impriſoned, and who therefore came continually within his notice, ſeemed to conciliate his good will to the whole fraternity ; and the virtues of order, decency, ſobriety, and charity, ſo much akin to his own, naturally inclined him to a kind of fellowſhip with them. He rigorouſly, however, abſtained from any compliances with their worſhip which he thought unlawful ; and gave them his eſteem as men, without the leaſt diſpoſition to concur with them as theologians.

Such were the great lines of Mr. Howard's character—lines ſtrongly marked, and ſufficient to diſcriminate him from any of thoſe who have appeared in a part ſomewhat ſimilar to his own on the theatre of the world. The union of qualities which ſo peculiarly fitted him for the poſt he undertook, is not likely, in

our age, again to take place; yet different combinations may be employed to effect the ſame purpoſes; and, with reſpect to the objects of police and humanity concerning which he occupied himſelf, the information he has collected will render the repetition of labours like his unneceſſary. To propoſe as a model, a character marked with ſuch ſingularities, and, no doubt, with ſome foibles, would be equally vain and injudicious; but his firm attachment to principle, high ſenſe of honor, pure benevolence, unſhaken conſtancy, and indefatigable perſeverance, may properly be held up to the view of all perſons occupying important ſtations, or engaged in uſeful enterpriſes, as qualities not leſs to be imitated, than admired.

I ſhall conclude with ſome account of the *literary honors* which Mr. Howard has received from his countrymen. It would, indeed, have been extraordinary, if, while ſenates and courts of judicature offered him their tribute of applauſe, poetry and eloquence ſhould have ſhewn an inſenſibility to his merits. Beſides the acknowledgments paid him in every publication upon topics ſimilar to his own, he became the theme of the elegant muſe of Mr. Hayley, who addreſſed to him an ode in the year 1780, to

which reference has already been made. That celebrated poem is, by the American Editor, subjoined to the present work. In the succeeding year, Mr. Burke, adverting, in a speech to the Freemen of Briſtol, to a fact in Mr. Howard's book, ſtruck out, with the enthuſiaſm of genius, into a panegyrical digreſſion on his plans and actions, decorated with his peculiar ſtrain of glowing imagery. Nothing, perhaps, can more forcibly expreſs the general idea entertained of Mr. Howard's exalted worth than the following extract from that ſpeech. "I cannot name this gentleman, ſays "Mr. Burke, I cannot name this gentleman, "without remarking that his labours and wri- "tings have done much to open the eyes and "hearts of mankind. He has viſited *all Eu-* "*rope*, not to ſurvey the ſumptuouſneſs of pa- "laces, nor the ſtatelineſs of temples; not to "make accurate meaſurements of the remains "of ancient grandeur, nor to form a ſcale of "the curioſities of modern art; not to collect "medals, nor to collate manuſcripts; but to "dive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge "into the infection of hoſpitals; to ſurvey the "manſions of ſorrow and pain; to take guage "and dimenſions of miſery, depreſſion, and "contempt; to remember the forgotten; to

" attend to the neglected; to visit the forsak-
" en; and to compare and collate the distresses
" of all men in all countries. His plan is ori-
" ginal, and it is as full of genius, as it is of
" humanity. It is a voyage of *philanthropy*
" —a circumnavigation of *charity!* Already
" the benefit of this labor itself is felt more or
" less in every country: I hope he will anti-
" cipate his final reward by seeing all its effects
" fully realized in his own. He will receive,
" not in retail but in gross, the reward of those
" who visit the prisoner, and he has so far
" forestalled and monopolised this branch of
" charity, that there will be, I trust, little
" room to merit by such acts of benevolence
" hereafter." This speech was afterwards printed, and the passage concerning Mr. Howard was copied into various periodical writings, and read with universal approbation. His character was even exhibited on the stage; for a comedy of Mrs. Inchbald's, entitled Such Things Are, contained a part evidently modelled upon his peculiar cast of benevolence, which for a time rendered the piece popular.

Dr. Darwin's very beautiful poem of *the Botanic Garden*, printed in 1789, amidst an un-

expected variety of subjects, presents an eulogium of Mr. Howard, so appropriate and poetical, that I am sure no reader of taste will require an apology from me for inserting it.

—And now BENEVOLENCE! thy rays divine
Dart round the globe from Zembla to the Line:
O'er each dark prison plays the cheering light,
Like northern lustres o'er the vault of night.—
From realm to realm, with cross or crescent crown'd,
Where'er mankind and misery are found,
O'er burning sands, deep waves, or wilds of snow,
Thy HOWARD journeying seeks the house of woe.
Down many a winding step to dungeons dank,
Where anguish wails aloud, and fetters clank;
To caves bestrew'd with many a mouldering bone,
And cells, whose echoes only learn to groan;
Where no kind bars a whispering friend disclose,
No sunbeam enters, and no zephyr blows,
He treads, inemulous of fame or wealth,
Profuse of toil, and prodigal of health;
With soft assuasive eloquence expands
Power's rigid heart, and opes his clenching hands;
Leads stern-ey'd justice to the dark domains,
If not to sever, to relax the chains;
Or guides awaken'd mercy through the gloom,
And shews the prison, sister to the tomb!—
Gives to her babes the self-devoted wife,
To her fond husband liberty and life!—
—The spirits of the good, who bend from high

Wide o'er theſe earthly ſcenes their partial eye,
When firſt, array'd in VIRTUE's pureſt robe,
They ſaw her HOWARD traverſing the globe;
Saw round his brows her ſun-like glory blaze
In arrowy circles of unwearied rays;
Miſtook a mortal for an angel-gueſt,
And aſk'd what ſeraph-foot the earth impreſt.
—Onward he moves!—Diſeaſe and death retire,
And murmuring demons hate him, and admire.

After theſe lines, the Editor avails himſelf of this favorable opportunity of exhibiting to the public, an extract from the funeral ſermon occaſioned by the death of Mr. Howard. And as it was delivered under the influence of heart-felt emotions, accompanied with ſerious regret, and refers to the leading principle of all his actions, it is preſumed, that it will not be deemed miſplaced, at the cloſe of a volume, the purpoſe of which is, to repreſent in ſtrong, faithful, and glowing colours the character of the BENEVOLENT HOWARD.

"Thoſe who beſt knew Mr. Howard," ſays Mr. Palmer*, in his ſermon on the death of his benevolent friend, "are ſo well acquainted

* *Reverend Mr. Palmer of Hackney.*

with the ſtrength of his Chriſtian principles, and with his evangelical views, as not to entertain a doubt but that, during his laſt ſickneſs and in the proſpect of death, (melancholy as his ſituation was, at a diſtance from all his friends) he exerciſed the greateſt degree of firmneſs, patience, and ſubmiſſion to the Divine will; a lively faith in the promiſes of the goſpel; a cheerful confidence in the grace of God, in a Redeemer, for acceptance, renouncing, as he often had explicitly done, all pretenſions to merit by all the good works he had performed; and an humble triumph in the proſpect of life eternal, as the free gift of God through Jeſus Chriſt. A little before he left England, when a friend expreſſed his concern at parting with him, from an apprehenſion that they ſhould never meet again, he cheerfully replied, "We ſhall ſoon meet in Heaven;" and, as he rather expected to die of the plague in Egypt, he added, "the way to Heaven from Grand Cairo is as near as from London." He that thus lived in the hope of immortality, may well be ſuppoſed at death to have experienced a joy unſpeakable and full of glory."

"Thus lived and thus died this diſtinguiſhed philanthropiſt, this bright ornament of human

nature and of the religion of Jesus. As his life was singularly useful, his death was equally glorious. He fell a martyr in the cause of humanity. As thousands blessed him while living, millions will lament him now dead. A greater loss this country, may I not say this world, has seldom sustained. It may appear to many a mysterious providence, that such a friend to his species should be cut off at a time when he had such noble ends in view, and when, considering the vigour of his constitution at the age of sixty-five, he might have been expected to continue some years as a blessing to his native country, particularly in promoting the execution of the plans which he had suggested in his publications. But his work was done: the designs of Providence by him were accomplished; and doubtless all the circumstances of his death were wisely ordered by Him who doth all things well, and who can easily raise up other instruments for perfecting what he had begun."

"His being cut off in a foreign country, however grievous it may be to his friends here, is a circumstance, which may probably be wisely designed, and happily over-ruled, for some very important purposes in that rising kingdom, which will esteem itself honoured by entombing

ſuch a patriotic Engliſhman; and where a ſpirit of emulation may probably be excited to imitate his virtues, and to adopt his plans, for promoting the growing glory and happineſs of that vaſt empire."

"While therefore we devoutly praiſe God for what he had done by this his eminent ſervant, let us ſubmit to his will, and adore his wiſdom and ſovereignty in his removal. And let us make the beſt improvement of ſo affecting a diſpenſation; particularly by cultivating that benevolence by which the deceaſed was actuated, and by doing what we can, in our different ſpheres, for repairing his loſs. This will be the beſt way of expreſſing our veneration for his character, and doing honour to his memory."

"That others, upon his deceaſe, would be excited to proſecute ſome of his ſchemes for the public good, he himſelf had a firm perſuaſion. This made him the leſs anxious about his own life, which his friends thought of ſo much importance. In the laſt converſation I had with him, when I expreſſed my fears for his ſafety, and my wiſhes that he could have been prevailed upon to continue at home, in order

to carry into execution the generous plans he had formed for the good of his country, his answer was, "When I am dead some body else will take up the matter and carry it through." God grant that his expectations may be verified!—But where is the man to be found who is like-minded with him? Another HOWARD this country cannot hope to see. Nor is one, altogether his equal now needed. He laid a foundation, on which it would be comparatively easy to build. He, with incredible labour and expence, has broken up the ground, prepared the soil, and sown the seed: to raise and gather the crop will require but a small portion of industry and public spirit. And are there none among you, ye men of fortune and leisure, in whom that portion of industry and public spirit is to be found? Ye who, in the strongest terms language can supply, celebrate the philanthropy of the deceased, and have shewn yourselves impatient to erect a monument to his honor, so as scarcely to be restrained from hurting his modesty while yet alive; is there no one among you that wishes to inherit his virtues, and rear the glorious fabric he had framed? Who that has the ability would not be ambitious of the honor? If it be honor of too great magnitude for an individual to

graſp, let it be divided. Here is enough to adorn many a brow. Oh that all in the higher ranks of life would claim their ſhare!"

"If but a few men of fortune and influence had a ſpirit equal to their power, what a bleſſed country would Britain ſoon become! The poor would be more happy and leſs burthenſome. The induſtrious would live in eaſe: the idle and profligate would be reclaimed. Crimes would be prevented inſtead of being puniſhed. Our priſons in time would ſcarce need humane viſitants, but would often (like ſome abroad) be almoſt empty; at leaſt thoſe confined in them would be there uſeful to the community, and not dangerous to it when diſcharged. Many would go out reformed, and would become good members of ſociety. Thus Engliſhmen, who vainly boaſt of their liberty, would enjoy liberty: would reſt in their beds, and travel by day or by night, without fear of being murdered or plundered by their own ſpecies. That it is otherwiſe, is in a great meaſure owing to the want of public ſpirit in men of rank and power. Would to God that the loſs of ONE Patriot may prove the occaſion of raiſing up MANY!"

ODE, &c.

O D E

INSCRIBED TO

JOHN HOWARD,

L.L.D. F.R.S.

BY WILLIAM HAYLEY, ESQ.

——————" SECOND TO NONE,
IN THE WORKS OF HUMANITY AND BENEVOLENCE."

PHILADELPHIA,

PRINTED FOR JOHN ORMROD, BY WILLIAM W. WOODWARD,
AT FRANKLIN'S HEAD, NO. 41, CHESNUT-STREET.

1794.

ODE, &c.

FAV'RITE of Heaven, and friend of earth!
Philanthropy, benignant power!
Whoſe ſons diſplay no doubtful worth,
The pageant of the paſſing hour!
Teach me to paint, in deathleſs ſong,
Some darling from thy filial throng,
Whoſe deeds no party-rage inſpire,
But fill th' agreeing world with one deſire,
To echo his renown, reſponſive to my lyre!

Ah! whither lead'ſt thou?—whence that ſigh?
What ſound of woe my boſom jars?
Why paſs, where Miſery's hollow eye
Glares wildly thro' thoſe gloomy bars?
Is Virtue ſunk in theſe abodes,
Where keen remorſe the heart corrodes;

Where guilt's baſe blood with frenzy boils,
And blaſphemy the mournful ſcene embroils?—
From this infernal gloom my ſhudd'ring ſoul
recoils.

But whence thoſe ſudden ſacred beams?
Oppreſſion drops his iron rod!
And all the bright'ning dungeon ſeems
To ſpeak the preſence of a God.
Philanthropy's deſcending day
Diffuſes unexpected ray!
Lovelieſt of angels!—at her ſide
Her favorite votary ſtands;—her Engliſh
pride,
Thro' horror's manſions led by this celeſtial
guide

Hail! generous HOWARD! tho' thou bear
A name which glory's hand ſublime
Has blazon'd oft, with guardian care,
In characters that fear not time;
For thee ſhe fondly ſpreads her wings;
For thee from Paradiſe ſhe brings,
More verdant than her laurel bough,
Such wreaths of ſacred palm, as ne'er till now
The ſmiling Seraph twin'd around a mortal
brow.

That Hero's * praiſe ſhall ever bloom,
Who ſhielded our inſulted coaſt;
And launch'd his light'ning to conſume
The proud Invader's routed hoſt.
Brave perils rais'd his noble name:
But thou deriv'ſt thy matchleſs fame
From ſcenes, where deadlier danger dwells;
Where fierce Contagion, with affright, repels
Valor's advent'rous ſtep from her malignant cells.

Where in the dungeon's loathſome ſhade,
The ſpeechleſs Captive clanks his chain,
With heartleſs hope to raiſe that aid
His feeble cries have call'd in vain:
Thine eye his dumb complaint explores;
Thy voice his parting breath reſtores;
Thy cares his ghaſtly viſage clear
From Death's chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful ſoul returning life endear.

What precious drug, or ſtronger charm,
Thy conſtant fortitude inſpires
In ſcenes, whence, muttering her alarm,

* *Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.*

Med'cine*, with ſelfiſh dread, retires?
Nor charm, nor drug, diſpel thy fears:
Temperance, thy better guard, appears:
For thee I ſee her fondly fill
Her cryſtal cup from nature's pureſt rill;
Chief nouriſher of life! beſt antidote of ill!

I ſee the hallow'd ſhade of HALES†,
Who felt, like thee, for human woe,

* *Muſſabat tacito Medecina timore.* Lucretius.

† *Stephen Hales miniſter of Teddington: he died at the age of* 84, 1761; *and has been juſtly called* "*An* "*ornament to his profeſſion, as a clergyman, and to* "*his country, as a philoſopher.*" *I had the happineſs of knowing this excellent man, when I was very young; and well remember the warm glow of benevolence which uſed to animate his countenance, in relating the ſucceſs of his various projects for the benefit of mankind. I have frequently heard him dwell with great pleaſure on the fortunate incident which led him to the diſcovery of his ventilator, to which I have alluded.—He had ordered a new floor for one of his rooms; his carpenter not having prepared the work ſo ſoon as he expected, he thought the ſeaſon improper for laying down new boards, when they were brought to his houſe, and gave orders for their being depoſited in his barn;—from their accidental poſition in that place, he caught his firſt idea of this uſeful invention.*

And taught the health-diffuſing gales
Thro' Horror's murky cells to blow,
As thy protecting angel wait;
To ſave thee from the ſnares of fate,
Commiſſion'd from the Eternal Throne:
I hear him praiſe, in wonder's warmeſt tone,
The virtues of thy heart, more active than his own.

Thy ſoul ſupplies new funds of health
That fail not, in the trying hour,
Above Arabia's ſpicy wealth
And Pharmacy's reviving power.
The tranſports of the generous mind,
Feeling its bounty to mankind,
Inſpirit every mortal part;
And, far more potent than precarious art,
Give radiance to the eye, and vigour to the heart.

Bleſt HOWARD! who like thee can feel
This vital ſpring in all its force?
New ſtar of philanthropic zeal;
Enlight'ning nations in thy courſe!
And ſhedding comfort's Heavenly dew
On meagre want's deſerted crew!
Friend to the wretch, whom friends diſclaim,

Who feels ſtern juſtice, in his famiſh'd frame,
A perſecuting fiend beneath an angel's name.

Authority ! unfeeling power,
Whoſe iron heart can coldly doom
The debtor, drag'd from pleaſure's bower,
To ſicken in the dungeon's gloom !
O might thy terror-ſtriking call,
Profuſion's ſons alone enthrall !
But thou canſt want with guilt confound :
Thy bonds the man of virtuous toil ſurround,
Driven by malicious fate within thy dreary
bound.

How ſavage are thy ſtern decrees ?
Thy cruel miniſter I ſee
A weak, laborious victim ſeize,
By worth entitled to be free !
Behold, in the afflicting ſtrife,
The faithful partner of his life,
In vain thy ruthleſs ſervant court,
To ſpare her little children's ſole ſupport,
Whom this terrific form has frighten'd from
their ſport.

Nor weeps ſhe only from the thought,
Thoſe infants muſt no longer ſhare
His aid, whoſe daily labour bought

The pittance of their ſcanty fare.
The horrors of the loathſome jail
Her inly-bleeding heart aſſail :
E'en now her fears, from fondneſs bred,
See the loſt partner of her faithful bed
Drop, in that murd'rous ſcene, his pale, expiring head.

Take comfort yet in theſe keen pains,
Fond mourner ! check thy guſhing tears !
The dungeon now no more contains
Thoſe perils which thy fancy fears :
No more contagion's baleful breath
Speaks it the hideous cave of death :
HOWARD has planted ſafely there ;
Pure miniſter of light ! his heavenly care
Has purg'd the damp of death from that polluted air.

Nature ! on thy maternal breaſt
For ever be his worth engraved !
Thy boſom only can atteſt
How many a life his toil has ſav'd :
Nor in thy reſcued ſons alone,
Great parent ! this thy guardian own !
His arm defends a dearer ſlave ;

Woman, thy darling! 'tis his pride to save*
From evils, that surpass the horrors of the grave.

Ye sprightly nymphs, by fortune nurst,
Who sport in joy's unclouded air,
Nor see the distant storms, that burst
In ruin on the humble fair;
Ye know not to what bitter smart
A kindred form, a kindred heart,
Is often doom'd, in life's low vale,
Where frantic fears the simple mind assail,
And fierce afflictions press, and friends and fortune fail.

* *Mr. Howard has been the happy instrument of preserving female prisoners from an infamous and indecent outrage.—It was formerly a custom in our gaols to load their legs and thighs with irons, for the detestable purpose of extorting money from these injured sufferers.—This circumstance, unknown to me when the Ode was written, has tempted me to introduce the few additional stanzas, as it is my ardent wish to render this tribute to an exalted character as little unworthy as I can of the very extensive and sublime merit which it aspires to celebrate.*

See yon' ſweet ruſtic, drown'd in tears!
It is not guilt—'tis miſery's flood,
While dire ſuſpicion's charge ſhe hears
Of ſhedding infant, filial blood:
Nature's fond dupe! but not her foe!
That form, that face, the falſhood ſhew:—
Yet law exacts her ſtern demand;
She bids the dungeon's grating doors expand,
And the young captive faints beneath the gaol-
or's hand.

Ah, Ruffian! ceaſe thy ſavage aim!
She cannot 'ſcape thy harſh controul:
Shall iron load that tender frame,
And enter that too-yielding ſoul?—
Unfeeling wretch! of baſeſt mind!
To miſery deaf, to beauty blind!
I ſee thy victim vainly plead;
For the worſt fiend of hell's malignant breed,
Extortion, grins applauſe, and prompts thy
ruthleſs deed.

With brutal force, and ribbald jeſt,
Thy manacles I ſee thee ſhake;
Mocking the merciful requeſt,
That modeſty and juſtice make;
E'en nature's ſhriek, with anguiſh ſtrong,
Fails to ſuſpend the impious wrong;

Till HOWARD's hand, with brave diſdain,
Throws far away this execrable chain:
O Nature, ſpread his fame thro' all thy ample
reign!

His care, exulting BRITAIN found
Here firſt diſplay'd, not here confin'd!
No ſingle tract of earth could bound
The active virtues of his mind.
To all the lands, where'er the tear,
That mourn'd the priſoner's wrong ſevere,
Sad Pity's gliſt'ning cheek impearl'd,
Eager he ſteer'd, with every ſail unfurl'd,
A friend to every clime! a Patriot of the
World!

Ye nations thro' whoſe fair domain
Our flying ſons of joy have paſt,
By pleaſure driven with looſen'd rein,
Aſtoniſh'd that they flew ſo faſt!
How did the heart-improving ſight
Awake your wonder and delight,
When, in her unexampled chace,
Philanthropy outſtript keen pleaſure's pace,
When with a warmer ſoul ſhe ran a nobler
race!

Where 'er her generous Briton went,
Princes his ſupplicants became :
He ſeem'd the enquiring angel, ſent
To ſcrutinize their ſecret ſhame*.
Captivity, where he appeared,
Her languid head with tranſport rear'd ;
And gazing on her godlike gueſt,
Like thoſe of old, whom Heaven's pure ſervant bleſt,
E'en by his ſhadow ſeem'd of demons diſpoſſeſt.

Amaz'd her foreign children cry,
Seeing their patron paſs along ;
" O ! who is he, whoſe daring eye
Can ſearch into our hidden wrong?
What monarch's Heaven-directed mind,
With royal bounty unconfin'd,
Has tempted Freedom's ſon to ſhare
Theſe perils ; ſearching with an angel's care
Each cell of dire diſeaſe, each cavern of deſpair ?"

* *I am credibly informed that ſeveral Princes, or at leaſt perſons in authority, requeſted Mr. Howard not to publiſh a minute account of ſome priſons, which reflected diſgrace on their government.*

No monarch's word, nor lucre's luſt,
Nor vain ambition's reſtleſs fire,
Nor ample power, that ſacred truſt
His life-diffuſing toils inſpire :
Rous'd by no voice, ſave that whoſe cries
Internal bid the ſoul ariſe
From joys, that only ſeem to bleſs,
From low purſuits, which little minds poſſeſs,
To Nature's nobleſt aim, the ſuccour of Diſtreſs!

Taught by that God, in Mercy's robe,
Who his cæleſtial throne reſigned,
To free the priſon of the globe
From vice, th' oppreſſor of the mind
For thee, of miſery's rights bereft,
For thee, Captivity! he left
Inviting eaſe, who, in her bower,
Bade him with ſmiles enjoy the golden hour,
While Fortune deck'd his board with pleaſure's feſtive flower.

While to thy virtue's utmoſt ſcope
I boldly ſtrive my aim to raiſe
As high as mortal hand may hope
To ſhoot the glittering ſhaft of praiſe ;
Say! HOWARD, ſay! what may the Muſe,
Whoſe melting eye thy merit views,

What guerdon may her love deſign?
What may ſhe aſk for thee, from power Divine,
Above the rich rewards which are already thine?

Sweet is the joy when Science flings
Her light on philoſophic thought;
When genius, with keen ardor, ſprings
To claſp the lovely truth he fought:
Sweet is the joy, when rapture's fire
Flows from the ſpirit of the lyre;
When Liberty and Virtue roll
Spring-tides of fancy o'er the poet's ſoul,
That waft his flying bark thro' ſeas above the pole.

Sweet the delight, when the gall'd heart
Feels conſolation's lenient hand
Bind up the wound from fortune's dart
With friendſhip's life-ſupporting band!
And ſweeter ſtill, and far above
Theſe fainter joys, when pureſt love
The ſoul his willing captive keeps!
When he in bliſs the melting ſpirit ſteeps,
Who drops delicious tears, and wonders that he weeps!

But not the brighteſt joy, which arts,
In floods of mental light, beſtow;
Nor what firm friendſhip's zeal imparts,
Bleſt antidote of bittereſt woe!
Nor thoſe that love's ſweet hours diſpenſe,
Can equal the ecſtatic ſenſe,
When, ſwelling to a fond exceſs,
The grateful praiſes of reliev'd diſtreſs,
Re-echoed thro' the heart, the ſoul of bounty bleſs.

Theſe tranſports, in no common ſtate,
Supremely pure, ſublimely ſtrong,
Above the reach of envious fate,
Bleſt HOWARD! theſe to thee belong:
While years encreaſing o'er thee roll,
Long may this ſunſhine of the ſoul
New vigor to thy frame convey!
Its radiance thro' thy noon of life diſplay,
And with ſereneſt light adorn thy cloſing day!

And when the power, who joys to ſave,
Proclaims the guilt of earth forgiven;
And calls the priſoners of the grave
To all the liberty of Heaven;

In that bright day, whose wonders blind
The eye of the astonish'd mind;
When life's glad angel shall resume
His ancient sway, announce to death his doom,
And from existence drive that tyrant of the
tomb:

In that blest hour, when Seraphs sing
The triumphs gain'd in human strife;
And to their new associates bring
The wreaths of everlasting life:
May'st thou, in Glory's hallow'd blaze,
Approach the eternal Fount of Praise,
With those who lead the angelic van,
Those pure adherents to their Saviour's plan,
Who liv'd but to relieve the Miseries of Man.

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